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No. II.

(Price 6d. To be continued Weekly,)

THE

SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

IN A SERIES OF OBSERVATIONS ON THE

IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE AGE.

By SIMON SEARCH.

POLITICS.

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

In a LETTER to JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S.

&c. &c.

In the subsequent Numbers of this Work, will be given—

Observations on the Abolition of NOBILITY *in France;*

Reflections on the BASTILLE;

Vindication of the Justice and Propriety of Alienating the ECCLESIASTICAL POSSESSIONS *in France.*

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MDCCXC.

THE

SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

LETTER I. *Continued.*

TO

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c.

NOR FRANCE alone ſhall raiſe the ſong,
Her freedom is the *common cauſe*,
And every nation round ſhall ſing
Her Liberty and equal laws.
Thee, *Britain!* it behoves to join
In louder accents than the reſt,
Who long Heav'n's choiceſt gift haſt known,
And been with laws and freedom bleſt.

Nor this be all—to ſing of Gallia's praiſe,
But ſeek to emulate her matchleſs fame;
And nobly ſtriving not to be outdone,
Support the ancient honour of thy name.

Illuſtrious ſhades of *Runnymede!*
How great your wonder and ſurprize,
When Gallia ſhew'd her *Champ de Mars*,
A nobler field in Freedom's eyes!
See *Paris* now to *London* boaſt
Her pure regenerated ſtreams,
And gentle *Seine*, ſo long confin'd,
Flow freer now than lordly *Thames*.

Tranſlated from Dr. Geddes's Secular Ode, in Latin, on the French Revolution. *See p.* 37.

LORD STANHOPE then addreſſed the company on the general deſign of the meeting, as occaſioned partly by motives of benevolence, to expreſs joy at the freedom of ſo many of our fellow-creatures; and partly from views of civility, to promote friend-

ſhip between the two nations, and ſtop that deſtructive ſpirit of hatred and war, which had ſo often overwhelmed both of them in blood.

It is with much pleaſure, ſaid he, gentlemen, that I ſee ſo numerous and reſpectable an aſſembly, met upon this occaſion. We are aſſembled here to-day, to commemorate one of the greateſt and moſt important Revolutions in the hiſtory of the world; a Revolution that has reſtored to their rights twenty-four millions of human beings; a Revolution that has deſtroyed a government of tyranny, corruption and intrigue; and on the ruins of that ſyſtem of ſlavery, has in the ſhort ſpace of one year eſtabliſhed a conſtitution founded on the natural equality of men; a conſtitution that teaches that all government is a delegated authority, proceeding from the people, and to be exerciſed for their good. The French nation have imitated the conſtitution of England in forming their own, but in ſome reſpects they have ſurpaſſed it; for they have not only eſtabliſhed civil, but alſo religious liberty. There is not now in that country any ſuch penal laws as diſgrace our ſtatute books. (Here his lordſhip enumerated ſeveral of thoſe abſurd and intolerant acts, of which he formerly moved the repeal in the Houſe of Commons, and of which the biſhops, true to their character, oppoſed the repeal.) There is not now in that country the odious tax of tythes, to load agriculture, and diſcourage induſtry. There is not in that country any laws to puniſh men, for profeſſing that religion which their conſcience obliges them to embrace: nor have they in that country a *Teſt Act*, to deprive of the common rights of men, and to withhold from offices of truſt honeſt citizens, becauſe they have the misfortune, or *good fortune*, to differ from the eſtabliſhed church.

If they were originally taught by us, they have given us a leſſon in their turn, and both of us have much to learn from one another.

His Lordſhip then propoſed as the next toaſt,

VI. *An*

VI. *An end to all jealouſies between Britain and France; and may they unite in extending peace, virtue, and liberty to all the other nations of the earth.*

This juſt and manly oration met with great applauſe, and the ſentiment that concluded it experienced unuſual acclamations.

Dr. PRICE next roſe, and prefaced his toaſt by the following ſpeech—" The ſubject of the toaſt I am going to propoſe to you, " appears to me very important. In conſequence of five wars, in " which we have been involved ſince the Revolution in 1688, the " kingdom is now bending under a heavy load of debts and incum- " brances, which render it incapable of meeting another war with- " out the utmoſt danger. For certainly there is a limit, beyond " which if we go in adding to our debts, ruin muſt follow; and " one more war may bring us to that limit.

" A long period of peace, therefore, to give us time for the " redemption of our debts, is neceſſary to our ſecurity, and per- " haps, even to our exiſtence.—In France there is a diſpoſition " to unite itſelf to us, by an alliance for maintaining and perpe- " tuating peace. Such an alliance would be an union between the " two firſt kingdoms in the world, for the nobleſt purpoſe. It " would be an effect worthy of that union of philoſophy to po- " litics, which diſtinguiſhes the preſent æra of the world. It " might ſave Britain. It would bleſs the world; and complete " the hopes of all the friends of human liberty and happineſs. I " can ſay from very reſpectable authority, that there has been a " deſign formed in the National Aſſembly of France, to make a " propoſal of ſuch an alliance to this country;—O heavenly Phi- " lanthropiſts! well do you deſerve the admiration not only of " your own country, but of all countries; you have already deter- " mined to renounce, for ever, all views of conqueſt, and all offen- " ſive wars. This is an inſtance of wiſdom and attention to human " rights, which has no example. But you will do more. You " will invite Great Britain to join you in this determination, and

" to enter into a compact with you for promoting *peace on earth*
" *and good will among men.*

" Gentlemen, such are the fruits of that glorious Revolution
" which we are this day celebrating. It promises a new and better
" order in human affairs. The passions of kings and their mini-
" sters, have too often and too long involved nations in the cala-
" mities of war. But now (thanks to the National Assembly of
" France) the axe is laid to the root of this cause of human misery;
" and the intrigues of courts are likely to lose their power of em-
" broiling the world.

" In this kingdom we have been used to speak of the people of
" France as our *natural enemies;* and, however absurd, as well as
" ungenerous and wicked, such language was, it admitted of some
" excuse while they consisted only of a monarch and his slaves.
" But now, with a spirit that astonishes mankind, and that makes
" tyrants tremble, they have broken their yoke, they have asserted
" their rights, and made themselves as free as ourselves. In do-
" ing this, we have been an example to them. They are now
" become an example to us; and we have reason to expect, that
" they will soon crown their glorious work, by calling upon us to
" meet them, not as formerly, in the fields of blood, at the com-
" mand of a despot, but on the sacred ground of Liberty, to em-
" brace us as brethren, to exchange vows with us of eternal amity,
" and to settle the terms of a confederation, for extending the
" blessings of peace and liberty through the world.—Thus united,
" the two kingdoms will be omnipotent. They will soon draw
" into their confederation Holland, and other countries on this
" side the globe, and the united states of America on the other;
" and when alarms of war come, they will be able to say to con-
" tending nations, *Peace*, and there will be peace*.

" I have

* The same sentiments were expressed in an excellent letter written by the WHIG CLUD of Dundee, a trading town in Scotland, to the National Assembly of France, and transmitted to M. la Luzerne by George Dempster, Esq. of which the following extract will probably be agreeable to my readers.

" The

" I have therefore thought, that it would be worthy of this " reſpectable company, on this moſt animating and joyous occa- " ſion, to expreſs its wiſhes of ſucceſs to the propoſal I have " mentioned, by drinking the following toaſt:

VII. *An alliance between France and Great Britain, for perpetuating peace, and making the world happy.*

This benevolent ſentiment, ſo highly proper from a miniſter of the goſpel of peace, was ſupported by loud applauſes.

Mr. CHRISTIE communicated to Lord Stanhope, a tranſlation of the oath which the king of France was to ſwear, in the Champ de Mars on the great day of confederation, and which his Lordſhip read to the company.

" I, the king of the French, ſwear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, to maintain the form of government decreed by the Na-

" The triumph of liberty and reaſon, over deſpotiſm, ignorance and ſuper- " ſtition, is an intereſting event for the remoteſt ſpectators. The example of " the abuſes contained in your ancient ſyſtem of government, was in the laſt " century hurtful to ours: it excited amongſt our princes and miniſters a thirſt " for power, which was often hurtful, ſometimes fatal to them, and which " was always prejudicial to the intereſt of the ſtate. Accept, Mr. Preſident, " our ſincere congratulations on the reſtoration of your ancient and free " conſtitution, and our ardent wiſhes for the permanent eſtabliſhment of " liberty in France. We remark, for the honour of the age, and that of " your nation, that your Revolution has been accompliſhed without a civil " war; and that neither the uſeleſs domains of the king, nor the poſſeſſions " of the clergy, have been ſacrificed to the avidity of individuals, but have " been employed for the uſe of the nation, *whoſe property they are.* We fore- " ſee with joy that that flame which you have lighted up, will conſume the " remains of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition in every quarter of Europe. We not only " hope but firmly *believe*, that the National Aſſembly of France, and the Parlia- " ment of Great Britain, will unite together in future in an indiſſoluble manner " to ſecure peace and proſperity to two empires, and to ſpread theſe bleſſings " over the whole ſurface of the earth. We congratulate you on having *an* " *army of citizens*, and a wiſe monarch, who by yielding with ſo much " goodneſs to the wiſhes of his people, gives a new luſtre to the houſe of " Bourbon, and aſſures the crown of France to his poſterity."

tional

tional Aſſembly, and accepted by me, and to enforce the execution of the laws."

I ſhall not ſtop at preſent to make any remarks on this oath, as it is likely I may give a full account of the French Confederation in a future Number. The Journal de Paris ſtated the words thus, "I, *a citizen*, king of the French, &c." and ſo it was originally; but on the obſervation of Mr. Barnave, that the king was to ſwear not as a *citizen*, but in his *royal* capacity, theſe words were omitted. The next toaſts were,

VIII. *To the memory of thoſe patriots in France who have loſt their lives in fighting for the liberty of their country.*

IX. *To the Duke de la Rochfoucauld, the Marquis de la Fayette, Mr. Bailly, Mr. Mirabeau, Mr. Rabaut de St. Etienne, and all the other patriots of France.*

X. *To Mr. Sheridan, and thoſe patriots, who, againſt all prejudices, have defended the French Revolution.*

Mr. SHERIDAN roſe up to thank the company for the honour they had done him. The approbation of ſuch an aſſembly as this,—no party meeting, but an aſſemblage of independent citizens, to whom the rights and liberties of mankind are dear, he regarded as the beſt reward of his public conduct; and aſſured the meeting, that in every ſituation, he would continue to maintain through life thoſe political principles which they had ſeen him profeſs. He regretted the hoſtility of ſome friends, whom he highly valued, to the ſame principles. If, continued he, the French Revolution had no connexion with England whatever, the friends of humanity would have reaſon to rejoice, as they do here to-day, at the deliverance of a great and enlightened people, from the yoke of tyranny and arbitrary power. But this Revolution is pregnant with happy conſequences to our own country. We know from fatal experience, that the former government of France ever looked forward to *war*, as the means of preſerving and

and augmenting its power. But the National Aſſembly have already given a proof that they are actuated by a different ſpirit. They have renounced the idea of foreign conqueſts, and declared that France will henceforth exhibit an example of honour and juſtice to the world. The expreſſion of good-will towards us, which the Noble Chairman had alluded to, and their intention, which Dr. Price had announced, of forming a permanent friendſhip with this country, called on our part for a return of expreſſions of generoſity and kindneſs. It had occurred to him, and to ſeveral other gentlemen, that it would be proper to give theſe ſentiments more form and permanency, than they could have in a *toaſt*, by expreſſing them in a *reſolution*, which he would now ſubmit to the conſideration of the company. He then moved that it be reſolved—

RESOLUTION I.

"That this meeting does moſt cordially rejoice in the eſtabliſh-
"ment and confirmation of liberty in France; and that it be-
"holds with peculiar ſatisfaction the ſentiments of amity and
"good-will, which appear to pervade the people of that country
"towards this kingdom; eſpecially at a time, when it is the ma-
"nifeſt intereſt of both ſtates, that nothing ſhould interrupt the
"harmony which at preſent ſubſiſts between them, and which is
"ſo eſſential to the freedom and happineſs, not only of both na-
"tions, but of all mankind."

While this reſolution was unanimouſly applauded, Mr. Horne Tooke preſented himſelf, and in order to make himſelf heard requeſted permiſſion of the Chairman to mount on the table, which was readily granted. A ſuſpicion ariſing that he had got up to ſay ſomething againſt the reſolution, a murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, and for ſome time his efforts to ſpeak were unſucceſsful. During this commotion he remained in his place in perfect tranquillity, and took a pinch of ſnuff with that apathy which marked nerves whoſe firmneſs approached to inſenſibility, as well as ſhewed that it was not the firſt time he had been in ſuch a ſituation. Several

veral cried out, *Hear him—hear him.* The preſident and Dr. Rees roſe ſeveral times, but in vain. Mr. Tooke at laſt deſcended, and Alderman Newman getting up, began abruptly a ſpeech, more bluntly honeſt than elegantly perſuaſive: "I aſked him when he "came in, as it was my title to do, whether he came here to "celebrate the glorious Revolution in France? and he gave me no "anſwer."—Here a noiſe, begun by Mr. Tooke's partiſans, interrupted the worthy Alderman's further progreſs, and induced him to quit the roſtrum.—The Preſident commanded attention by remarking on the indecency of not permitting a man to ſpeak, in a free aſſembly like this, and ſaid, he underſtood it to be a prime maxim of juſtice and reaſon, to paſs cenſure on a ſpeaker for what he has ſpoken, not for what he is to ſay.

Mr. Horne Tooke was at laſt liſtened to. He ſaid, when he was a younger man he had frequently flattered women, but he never had yet, nor would he begin now to flatter men. It was not the applauſe and cenſure of the aſſembly, that ſhould govern his conduct. He knew of a reward greater than their approbation, and poſſeſſing which, he could even be indifferent to their cenſure. He had heard a reſolution propoſed in the meeting, which ſeemed to him to require ſome explanation to attend it, before it was publiſhed to the world as the unanimous ſenſe of the aſſembly. It was neceſſary to guard the unlimited admiration the aſſembly had expreſſed for the Revolution in France, from a miſrepreſentation to which it was liable. It was neceſſary that the reſolution ſhould ſtate the great difference between the ſituation of France and that of this country. The French had no conſtitution, they had no veſſel of ſtate, "they were forced to lay down a new keel, and they had done it *glorioufly*." But we had a conſtitution. Our veſſel might have gathered ſome concretions, and ſtand in need of being docked, "but her timbers were *ſound*."—At theſe words the clamours were univerſal from all ſides of the room. Some called out, *No fire-brand—no inſidious friend:* and it appearing impracticable to go on, Mr. Tooke finally quitted the table.

Mr.

Mr. Tooke's interference on this occaſion may afford a ſubject of curious ſpeculation. Some ſaid, he loved to fiſh in troubled waters, and had come purely to diſturb the harmony of the meeting. Others more candid, declared, that he ſpoke his real ſentiments, and had interfered only becauſe he thought it was his duty to do ſo. For my part, I believe that if he had been allowed to finiſh his ſpeech, the meeting would not have had reaſon to diſapprove of its general tenor. A little private pique againſt Mr. Sheridan was too evident in it; and it is to be hoped, alſo, that a man of Mr. Tooke's abilities, will find other methods to increaſe his popularity, than flattering the vanity and prejudices of his countrymen, by exaggerated encomiums on that good, but *imperfect* conſtitution, which their ignorance and partiality make them regard as the model of all perfection.

With reſpect to the phraſe, "her timbers are *found*," it was moſt juſtly cenſured; and amidſt the noiſe occaſioned by it, one called out, with equal truth and humour, "What then are the *rotten* boroughs?" They are planks in the Britiſh conſtitution, and all men allow them to be corrupt.——I wiſh they were the only rotten timbers we have in it!

Lord Stanhope roſe to explain. He thought, and moſt juſtly, that Mr. Tooke had miſtaken the deſign of the meeting. They had not aſſembled to make a compariſon between France and England. The intention of the Aſſembly was to celebrate the reſtoration of France to freedom, and every friend of humanity ought to join in their wiſhes. How far the example of France ſhould influence England, was a point on which wiſe men might differ—but certainly could not be eſteemed the primary object of ſuch an aſſembly to decide.

Mr. Sheridan made a few remarks on ſome parts of Mr. Tooke's ſpeech, that bore a little perſonal alluſion in them. He ſaid he could not give up what he had originally aſſerted, that the approbation of a numerous public aſſembly of independent men, was the higheſt reward a ſenator could look to for his public conduct. Mr. Tooke might know of other rewards, with which he

was unacquainted, and which he did not desire to know. The resolution he had moved, stated no kind of comparison between the two kingdoms. He would sum up his ideas in this declaration, that "as on the one hand he would never countenance the introduc-"tion of anarchy, under the pretence of promoting liberty; so, on "the other, he would never support tyranny, under the pretence "of avoiding anarchy."

Mr. Sheridan's resolution was then put, and carried unanimously, and he followed it by a toast to the health of the Chairman,

XI. *Earl Stanhope*—which was pledged with hearty unanimity.

Mr. Tooke then handed to the President a resolution, which from its moderate and conciliating nature, obtained universal approbation.

RESOLUTION II.

"Resolved, that this meeting feel equal satisfaction, that the "people of England, by the virtuous exertions of their ancestors, "have not so arduous a task to perform as the French have had, "but have only to maintain and *improve* that constitution, which "their ancestors have transmitted to them."

This resolution, as well as the other, was appointed to be published in our own news-papers, and transmitted to the National Assembly of France. At a future time it is likely I may communicate an account, authentic and circumstantial, of the reception they met with from that august body.

The next toast given was,

XII. *Civil and religious liberty to all mankind*—Then,

XIII. *The sacred rights of men, and may all nations have wisdom to understand and courage to defend them.*

XIV. *An equal representation to the people in Parliament.*

XV. *May the glorious example of France teach other nations the value of the blessings of freedom.*

It

It was now a late hour, nine o'clock or more. A good part of the company were gone, and some of those who remained becoming noisy, and more zealous perhaps than wise, a toast was said to have been given, which I certainly did not hear, and am yet uncertain if any such sentiment was expressed. It was,

XVI. *May the enemies of freedom be drawn at full length, and may the gallows be the frame of the picture.*

If such a toast was given, it was not worthy of the meeting, and must be considered as a little spot in the sunshine of the day. It was not pacific, nor generous. It was *poissardic.*

Let us leave cruelty, barbarity, vengeance, and crimes to tyrants and their agents. The friends of freedom and of peace ought to love mankind, to forgive injuries—to do good to all, and never seek to triumph over a fallen foe. Let our opponents act in contempt of character. *We* have a character; and neither their folly—nor their bigotry—nor their injustice, shall provoke us to lose it.

XVII. *May the glorious Revolution in France, provoke in Britain the emulation never to be excelled in liberty.* This was noble and just.

XVIII. *May the representatives of the people do the business of the people, and not that of the minister; and if otherwise, may the people do their business.*

Many more toasts were designed to have been given, but the disputes occasioned by Mr. Horne Tooke's interference, wasted so much time, that they were either suppressed or forgotten. Hence Mr. Fox was not toasted, nor was there an opportunity of remembering the Belgic Patriots, the Duke d'Aremberg, Viscount Walckiers, the Duke d'Ursel, General Van der Meersch, or William Herries.

The revolution of the Austrian Netherlands is one of the most foolish and trifling arrangements that ever took place in the political world. The people were not ripe for it. Their minds are still fettered by superstition, and kept in darkness by priests. In the French revolution the priests had no share whatever, and that revolution is the only perfect one that ever occurred in the history of man. In England our revolutions have had a mixture of ecclesiast-

tical motives, and they have always been more or leſs imperfect. But in Flanders theology did all, and the prieſts managed the revolution, as they do the buſineſs of laymen in general—they put it all awry. The late emperor Joſeph II. acted in an arbitrary, and I think in an unjuſtifiable manner. But for all that, though he took a wrong way to execute them, his plans were at the bottom right and juſt. His reforms were rational and neceſſary, only he wiſhed to cram them down people's throats, at a time when they were not able to ſwallow them. Hence the people threw off his yoke, and catching the enthuſiaſm of freedom, refuſed the moſt generous propoſals from his ſucceſſor Leopold duke of Tuſcany, now king of Hungary; and then—inſtead of eſtabliſhing a free government—inſtead of calling a National Aſſembly, to form a new ſyſtem, as the old one was annihilated, they ſuffered the power to be engroſſed by a ſet of nobles, calling themſelves the *States;* a vile ariſtocratic body, headed by Van Eupen, a prieſt, and Van der Noot, a bigot, who govern every thing as they will, and have turned adrift Walckiers, impriſoned Van der Meerſch, and chaſed away the beſt and braveſt citizens of their country. But their uſurped power will probably be of ſhort duration. The king of Pruſia has made peace with Leopold; and as the latter will probably ſupport the claims of the former to Dantzick, Thorn, and the adjacent territory; ſo the former, in return, will not oppoſe but aid the latter in marching an army into Brabant, to reduce his revolted ſubjects. And ſurely the old monarchy will be better for the Brabanters, than the miſerable ſyſtem of ariſtocracy lately eſtabliſhed.

Of their ſtate with reſpect to knowledge and wiſdom, you will judge from one anecdote. When Namur was evacuated lately, ſays the Leyden Gazette, our lady (the image of the virgin in the great church) was obſerved to be beſpattered up to the knees. No doubt, continues the writer with great ſerioufneſs—no doubt ſhe was amongſt the middle of the people, and got herſelf ſo dirtied, as the weather had been bad.

But to return from my digreſſion: Thus ended our public meeting—a meeting aſſembled for the moſt glorious purpoſe that perhaps

haps ever occurred in the hiſtory of the world—a meeting at which every generous Briton—at which every freeman, of every country—at which every benevolent man, of every clime, was called upon to be preſent, and to join in celebrating the occaſion of.

Superficial thinkers will ſee nothing in this Aſſembly but a public dinner, and a jovial meeting at the Crown and Anchor. You, and thoſe who reflect a little deeper, will diſcover in it the exertion of a *new power* in the political world—the firſt operation of the matured reaſon of the people—the firſt enlightened effort of the *univerſal will*. Of thoſe who came to this meeting, ſome might be induced by curioſity, or other ſecondary motives, but the leading men aſſembled from *principle*. Miniſters may deſpiſe them, prieſts may rage againſt them, but they will go on unmoved, and ſteady, though ſlow, to accompliſh their purpoſe. Clear and collected in their ideas, the miſerable arguments of courtiers and church-men will make no impreſſion on their reſolutions. They will meet with many repulſes from the inſolence of eſtabliſhed power, but they will not *deſiſt*. To be *defeated* and to be *confuted* are two things. Their opponents, from better information, or from ſhame, will now and then be dropping over to them, while not one of them will quit his ſtandard or go over to the enemy. The chance of a reform of abuſes from the *Parliament* becomes daily more hopeleſs. Public bodies are not wont to reform themſelves. Another power muſt come in. The people muſt interfere. It is indeed a matter of doubt with me, if parliament are competent to the reforms wanted. Their buſineſs is to act *according to the* conſtitution, becauſe they derive their power from that ſyſtem. They have no power to *change* the conſtitution; they have no power, though Mr. Horne Tooke uſed the phraſe, to *improve* it. Their conſtituents have not granted them ſuch a power. To ſuch changes nothing is equivalent but a NATIONAL CONVENTION.

All that we want, Sir, might be accompliſhed in peace and harmony, if we were free of unprincipled ſtateſmen and ambitious prieſts. But we will, we muſt perſiſt in demanding *all* our rights, and they ſeem determined to refuſe us every thing. The conſequences

quences are obvious. The ſincereſt lover of harmony may be conſtrained to prefer hoſtility, and he who is moſt diſpoſed to gentleneſs may be forced into violence. Such has been the unhappy propenſity of mankind to oppreſs one another, that in every age the friends of freedom have been obliged to take for their motto,

" - - - - - Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
" Enſe petit placidam ſub libertate quietam."

Hail *Peace*, thou greateſt gift of heaven! O that thou mighteſt ever overſhadow my country, and calm every troubled ſpirit that would injure its repoſe!—You, Sir, are a philoſopher and a clergyman: Offer your earneſt prayers to the God of Peace, for the tranquillity of Britain: and believe that you are joined by all wiſe and good men, as well as by,

Sir,

Your reſpectful friend,

S. SEARCH.

Poſtſcript. Although it is probable many private individuals have commemorated the French Revolution, in various parts of England, yet no account of any public aſſemblies have reached us, except from Cambridge and Seaford. At the former there was a meeting of the members of the Univerſity, on the 14th of July, and the following toaſts are ſaid to have been given.

I. *The cauſe of liberty throughout the world.*

II. *The aſſembly met this day in the* Champ de Mars.

III. *The French Revolution, which has laid the foundation of a new government on the natural rights of men.*

IV. *The National Aſſembly, and ſucceſs to its patriotic deſigns.*

V. *The conquerors of the Baſtille, and may every remaining fortreſs of deſpotiſm ſpeedily meet with the ſame fate.*

VI. *The friends of liberty wherever aſſembled to celebrate this anniverſary.*

VII. Bailly, *advanced by the free election of his fellow-citizens to thoſe honours which he refuſed from the hands of deſpotiſm.*

VIII. La Fayette *and the patriotic army.*

IX. Mira-

IX. Mirabeau, *and ſucceſs to eloquence in the cauſe of freedom.*

X. Neckar, *and the triumph of perſonal worth over the hereditary preſumptions of oppreſſive ariſtocracy.*

XI. Sieyes, *and the rights of the people.*

XII. *The patriotic Biſhop of* Autun, *and the clergy who ſacrificed their own intereſts to the happineſs of the public.*

XIII. Rabaut de St. Etienne, *the firſt Proteſtant Preſident in the National Aſſembly.*

XIV. D'Aiguillon, *and may public ſpirit ever triumph over perſonal wrongs.*

XV. *The French Academy, and the fathers of modern ſcience, Galileo, Bacon, Des Cartes, and Newton.*

XVI. *To the memory of Milton, Locke, Monteſquieu, Helvetius, Rouſſeau, Voltaire, and other philoſophers, who by their writings prepared the minds of the French for this Revolution.*

XVII. *To the memory of Benjamin Franklin.*

The Whig Club of Seaford met at the Pelham Arms on the ſame day, and expreſſed their ſentiments in the following toaſts.

I. *The National Aſſembly of France; and may the great example of their virtues extend the ardour of liberty over all the nations of the earth.*

II. *May the Baſtille be held in execrated remembrance, to teach poſterity the value of freedom.*

III. *May the dawn of liberty arrive at its meridian ſplendor.*

IV. *May religious prejudices be diſſolved, and religious as well as civil liberty be univerſal.*

V. *The* CAUSE *which has diſpelled the gloom of ſlavery, and given happineſs to millions.*

VI. *May the birth-day of Gallic independence be ever revered, and may the glory of her patriot ſons be immortal.*

VII. *The illuſtrious memory of thoſe heroes who have fallen in the cauſe of liberty and human happineſs.*

VIII. *General Waſhington, and ſucceſs to the liberties of America.*

IX. *May*

IX. *May the overthrow of deſpotiſm in France be a leſſon of inſtruction to the abetters of tyranny in this country.*

X. *May the example of an Iriſh jury reſtore the liberty of the preſs in Great Britain.*

XI. *May the decayed limbs be amputated from the body politic of Old England, that its excellent conſtitution may regain its native vigour.*

XII. *May a fair and* EQUAL REPRESENTATION *of the people in Parliament ſucceed the demolition of the* rotten boroughs.

XIII. *May party never divide thoſe who have the good of their country for their object.*

XIV. *May thoſe who prefer their own corrupt purpoſes to the welfare and freedom of their country, experience a ſlavery ſuitable to the depravity of their own hearts.*

Nor has the celebration of the French Revolution been confined to England alone. The friends of liberty at *Amſterdam* aſſembled to commemorate the 14th of July, and a letter from Hamburg, dated the 19th, contains the following paſſage:

" In the middle of the political diſquietudes, which the French " Nation, jealous of their infant liberty, may conceive from the " conduct of princes around them, it muſt be comfortable for them " to learn the ſentiments of the people at large every-where, in " favour of their Revolution. It is not ſolely in London, or in " Amſterdam, that entertainments have been given in honour of " the 14th July—a great number of our citizens wiſhed to mingle " their joy, with that of a great people, who have newly recovered " their rights, and exhibited themſelves to the world as *freemen.* " Four principal perſons of the town preſided at the civic banquet, " at Harveſtehude, a little village near Hamburg. Many toaſts ſuit- " able to the occaſion were drunk; ſuch as,

" I. *Proſperity to France.*

" II. *The glorious 14th of July.*

" III. *The National Aſſembly of France.*

" IV. *M. Bailly, La Fayette, Mirabeau, &c. &c.*

" There

" There was a ball, and concert, at which all the gentlemen " wore the National Cockade of France, and the ladies, dreſſed in " white, wore ſaſhes of three colours, and ſtraw hats adorned with " patriotic cockades."

Yes, enlightened patriots of diſtant nations! your noble efforts will not be loſt.—The voice of freedom, reſounding from PARIS to *London*, and thence to *Dublin*, and to *Philadelphia*, ſhall be re-echoed to diſtant *Scotland;* and paſſing to *Amſterdam*, and *Hamburg*, ſhall reach even to remote *Moſcow;* whence, circulating back through darkened regions, it will arouſe ſuperſtitious *Italy* and bigot *Spain*. The attempts of deſpots to ſtifle it, will add new ſtrength to it. Slow is the progreſs of reaſon amongſt the ignorant, weak, and thoughtleſs children of men; but oppoſition accelerates its courſe, by awakening men's attention, and leading them to think. We dread not the efforts of tyrants; we dread their indifference; and find our only conſolation in that want of underſtanding, which leads them uniformly to the infatuated policy of an activity deſtructive to their own cauſe.

SECULAR ODE,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

By the Rev. Dr. GEDDES.

CARMEN SÆCULARE,

PRO

GALLICA GENTE

TYRANNIDI ARISTOCRATICÆ

EREPTA:

AD PRID. IDUS. JUL. ANNI POST CHRISTUM NATUM MILLESIMI SEPTINGENTESIMI NONAGESIMI, COMPOSITUM.

Jucundiorem facit libertatem servitutis recordatio. Cic.

COMITIIS Generalibus Gentis Gallicæ, nunc temporis Lutetiæ Parisiorum Congregatis, hoc, qualecunque, Carmen Sæculare, ea, qua par est, devotione dicat

P. I. A. G.

Londini Idibus Juliis,
1790.

CARMEN SÆCULARE, &c.

DA, puer, plectrum citius sonorum;
Sapphicum jamjam libet excitare
Carmen—afflatu subito moveri
Sentio pectus.

Galliam, lætus, cano liberatam:
Heu nimis longum rigidis revinctam
Funibus, longum et nimis haud ferendo
Pondere pressam.

Canto Saturni repetita regna
Facilis, justi, populique patris:
Et Themin terris cano restitutam, et
Aurea sæcla.

Ecce

Ecce proſtratum truculentum et atrox,
Horridum monſtrum, ſtygiis in antris
Triſtius quo non,—Procerum potentum
Sæva poteſtas!

Gentis humanæ ſator atque rector,
Hoc tuum donum!—Tibi, O bonorum
Omnium vere dator ac origo,
Gloria Lauſque!

Audiant omnes timeantque reges;
Totius terræ timeant tyranni;
Palleat quicunque imitatur illos,
Nomine quovis!

Χαιρε, ter felix Ludovice, Χαιρε!
Tu tenes tandem innocuam coronam;
Tu tenes tandem maculata nullo
Crimine ſceptra!

Te videt divus Ludovicus alter *;
Divus Henricus† videt, atque gaudet
Galliam talem meruiſſe Regem
Tandem aliquando!

Gaudeant cives periiſſe totam
Diram et audacem dominationem;
Gaudeant ferrugineas catenas
Fulmine fractas.

Gaudeat clerus, jubiletque ſeſe,
Vacuum curæ et mediocritate
Divitem, ſacris modo rite poſſe
Dedere rebus.

Gaudeant ipſi, generoſa pubes
Nata præclaris atavis, et exhinc
Creditent ſoli merito deberi
Nobilitatem.

Gaudeatque ævo ſenior ſubactus:
Debiles palmas, oculoſque ſiccos
Tendat in cœlum, pietate magna
Numen adorans.

* Ludovicus XII. dictus Pater populi.
† Henricus IV. nomine et re magnus.

Gaudeat

Gaudeat fortis juvenis, lubenſque
Velle ſe, juret patrias ad aras,
Potius quam ſervitium ſubire,
Perdere vitam.

Gaudeat ludens gremio parentis
Parvulus lactens, ſimul ac referre
Polleat balbas pietate tinctas
Lingua loquelas.

Gaudeat mater genuiſſe prolem
Jam ſui juris, vigilemque matris
Sedulum, et fulcrum tremulæ ſenectæ;
Ut decet annos.

Gaudeat virgo licitum marito
Libero tandem, decore ac honore,
Par pari fidem dare nuptialem, et
Jungere dextram.

Nec ſatis, ſolos jubilaſſe Gallos:
Canticum, audentes repetent Iberi;
Conſonent Belgæ, Batavi, Sicambri,
Helvetiique.

Albion! ſed te potiore plauſu
Liberos Gallos decet æmulari;
Æmulans Gallos, tibi gratularis
Terra Britanna!

Inclyti Heroes Runimedis agri *,
Qualis, O, vobis ſtupor atque ſenſus?
En! magis clarum Runimedis agro
Cernitis agrum!

Mira! nunc Lutetia puriore
Gaudet unda, quam Trinobantium urbs†; et
Thameſis quam, liberiore curſu
Sequana fertur.

* Campus, quo Angliæ Barones *Magnam*, quam dicunt, *Chartam*, Regi Joanni extorſerunt.
† Londinum.

No. III.

(Price 6d. To be continued Weekly,)

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IN A SERIES OF OBSERVATIONS ON THE

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By SIMON SEARCH.

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CONTAINING

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ON THE

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In a LETTER to the EARL of CHARLEMONT.

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THE

SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

LETTER II.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT,

Commander in Chief of the VOLUNTEER ARMY, and a Member of the WHIG CLUB of IRELAND.

" THE Love of Liberty with life was given,
" And life itſelf th' inferior gift of Heaven.
DRYDEN—*Palamon and Arcite.*

" Of great importance to the public is the preſervation of PERSONAL LIBER-
" TY: for if once it were left in the power of any, the higheſt magiſtrate, to
" *impriſon arbitrarily* whom ever he or his officers thought proper, as in France
" it is (ſay it *was*) daily practiſed by the Crown, there would ſoon be an end of
" all other rights and immunities.—Confinement of a perſon, by ſecretly hurry-
" ing him to goal, where his ſufferings are unknown or forgotten, is a leſs
" public, a leſs ſtriking, and therefore, a more dangerous engine of arbitrary
" government."
Blackſtone's Comment. on the Laws of England, Vol. i. 135.

MY LORD,

THE diſtinguiſhed part your Lordſhip has taken, in ſupporting the great cauſe of freedom, and the rights of mankind, adds new luſtre to your character amongſt your contemporaries, and will endear your memory to the friends of liberty in every future period of time.

There is a peculiar propriety in *noblemen's* eſpouſing the cauſe of liberty, if they act conſiſtent to their own character, and know what renders men truly great. For ſervitude *debaſes*, while freedom *exalts* human beings. A king may ennoble one man, and it may be doubtful whether he ought to have been ennobled; but freedom ennobles the human race, and at the ſame time renders them deſerving of their aggrandiſement. Every enlightened lover of nobility therefore, ought to love that which renders men worthy of it.

I have the pleaſure at preſent of offering to your Lordſhip ſome Reflections on the Baſtille, written by M. de la Harpe of Paris, with ſuch remarks of my own as occurred on reading them.

As I publiſh not for literary *fame*, but for *utility;* and as the object of my work is not *novelty* but *truth;* I conceive that wherever I find important remarks, and juſt ideas of things, not ſo generally known as they deſerve to be, it is my duty to add to their publicity, and I think that they enter as naturally into my plan as any original matter whatever.

For this reaſon, my Lord, I deſign to watch over the growing wiſdom of France, and from time to time to communicate ſuch ſpecimens of it in an Engliſh dreſs, as I think deſerving the attention of my countrymen. In that kingdom, ſince the Revolution, a new mine of reaſon has been opened, rich beyond any yet known in the world, and its treaſures will be circulated about, and, without impoveriſhing the proprietors, will enrich all the nations of the earth. It is highly requiſite that *we* look out for our ſhare, and that we profit, like others, from the improvements of our neighbours. For it is a weakneſs too prevalent amongſt us to think, that wiſdom is with us alone, and that we have ſeen an end of all perfection. Whereas the truth is, that if we are not attentive to farther improvements, and watchful of the progreſs of thoſe around us, that little ſuperiority we once poſſeſſed, will daily diminiſh, and at length we ſhall be left *much behind all our neighbours*.

A great

A great deal has been written on the Baſtille, but it has chiefly conſiſted of temporary matter,—facts and anecdotes that amuſed for the moment, and then were forgotten. But the hiſtory and final fate of that awful monument of deſpotiſm, ſupplies room for many reflections of a permanent nature, and which ought never to be forgotten—in order to ſave humanity from future Baſtilles. M. de la Harpe of the French Academy, a man of moſt reſpectable talents and character, has anticipated me on this ſubject, and he has done it ſo well, that I am proud of laying his remarks before your Lordſhip and the friends of liberty in Ireland, and of appearing at preſent only in the character of his commentator.

The immediate occaſion of M. de la Harpe's Reflections, is a collection of authentic papers, relating to the Baſtille, and forming materials for a complete hiſtory of that celebrated priſon, publiſhed at Paris in numbers, by a Society of Men of Letters and Patriotic Citizens *, and of which the originals are depoſited at the Lyceum †. This publication is entitled, *La Baſtille dévoilée, ou Recueil de pièces authentiques, pour ſervir à ſon Hiſtoire 6 parts*, and is announced to the world in the *Mercure de France* by the following obſervations.—

If ever the hiſtory of the Baſtille ought to excite curioſity and attract attention, is it not at this moment in which,

> " Cet affreux château, palais de la vengeance,
> " Qui renferma ſouvent le crime & l'innocence,"

That monument of arbitrary power, which exiſted more than four *centuries*, and was deſtroyed in leſs than four *hours*, opens to our

* The profits ariſing from the ſale are appropriated to the uſe of the widows and orphans of thoſe citizens, who fell victims to their patriotic zeal, and to that of the wounded, who are in a ſtate of indigence,

† An admirable inſtitution at Paris, where lectures are read on various branches of uſeful knowlege—not for profeſſional men, but for mankind in general. M. de la Harpe is one of the Profeſſors in this Lyceum.

view

view a precious depoſit, and diſplays the trophy of liberty, and a blaze of light, whoſe rays, darting through all France, not only begin to re-animate that country, but will gradually change the form of every government. The revelation of the myſteries of the Baſtille is calculated to intereſt the world at large, as well as individuals of every rank, ſect, and profeſſion.

This work, ſays M. de la Harpe, diſplays the true picture of deſpotiſm, *drawn by its own hand*, whoſe native features it exhibits, at once odious and contemptible, while it places in the ſtrongeſt poſſible light, the ineſtimable charms of liberty.

The general facts relative to the capture and deſtruction of the Baſtille, all Europe are already poſſeſſed of. It may not be amiſs, however, to ſtate, that the conduct of the governor M. de Launay was not ſo reprehenſible as is commonly believed, and even by the Pariſians themſelves. Far from giving orders to fire upon the people, after having diſplayed the white flag, he permitted them to get upon the top of the *Corps-de-Garde* on the ſide of the little draw-bridge, and there with hatchets to cut down and break the chain of the great bridge, while ſome were cutting down and deſtroying the other. He only began to fire when the aſſailants crowded to the attack of the ſecond bridge, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the inferior officers, who called out from the towers, that no injury ſhould be done to them if they would retire.

It was happy for the French nation, that the garriſon of the Baſtille did not make ſuch a defence as the ſituation of the place and their artillery would have enabled them—it ſaved much blood-ſhed. M. de Launay, without doubt a better goaler than officer, loſt all his diſcretion when he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with an innumerable crowd of armed men, and was incapable of availing himſelf of his ſituation and force.

Would it be believed, adds our author, that in the midſt of Paris, the ſcene of action, it ſhould have required ſuch trouble and

and research to come at the truth? Every circumstance has been accurately examined and inquired into. Questions have been put to the garrison, the invalids, the turnkeys, the prisoners, the assailants and the assailed; and such is the result of their testimony.—

I cannot peruse this remark of M. de la Harpe, without observing, that, from this circumstance one may be convinced what care is necessary to avoid mistakes with respect to historical facts, even in situations where there is every opportunity of information. All Europe talked of "the assault of the Bastille;" and in three of the inferior theatres of London, (for the power of ministerial despotism prevented the representation of it at Covent-garden and Drury-lane,) it was exhibited as taken by regular siege and assault, though the fact is, that the gates were opened by the garrison. If such misconceptions prevail with respect to facts that pass under our eyes, and there be rarely such opportunities of correcting them, as in this case, we must diminish much of our confidence in history in general, and be candid enough to own a deplorable, though striking truth, that the histories of remote and ancient ages are almost wholly fabulous.

While I speak of the taking of the Bastille, I cannot but recollect the vain triumph of some enemies of freedom, in consequence of the small number of prisoners found in it. To one who objected this to me, I replied, "It was not the fault of "the ministers, that the Bastille had empty cells." But my ideas on this subject, are so well expressed in a passage of a letter, written by a friend from Paris, that I shall here quote them for the information of my readers.

"*Nov.* 20. I walked to the Bastille, and passed all the morning "amidst the ruins. Although a vast number of people have been "continually employed in demolishing it ever since it was taken "(July 14.), yet it is not half destroyed now. This infernal dun-"geon was built as if it had been to last to eternity. We walked

"round

" round it, and then aſcended the ruins. What remains of it might,
" at leaſt in ſome parts, be converted into other buildings, but it is
" the reſolution of the friends of liberty, not to leave one ſtone of
" it above another. The ſtones are piled up and ſold for building
" houſes. I could not reſiſt the impulſe of aſſiſting the workmen
" in ſhoving down a large one from the top of a tower as I walked
" paſt, and I was glad to ſee the men work with unuſual alacrity.
" After inſpecting what was above ground, we put ourſelves under
" the direction of three of the workmen, and, lighting candles, de-
" ſcended into the *cachots* or dark priſons below ground. The mi-
" ſerable ſtairs that lead to moſt of them, are blocked up with rub-
" biſh, ſo that only a few are acceſſible. After viewing two, they
" conducted us to one which they ſaid was the *cachot* of the man
" with the iron maſk. I know not if one could truſt their ac-
" curacy; but however, it was one of the moſt profound and diſmal.
" They offered each of us a ſtone, as ſeveral Engliſhmen have been
" curious enough to bring away ſtones of the Baſtille; but obſerving
" that in ſeveral parts of the wall, the wretched priſoner had graved
" figures, with the end of his irons, to paſs his lingering days,
" I prevailed on one of our guides to go above ground again, and
" bring down a pick-axe, with which he hewed out a large ſtone,
" covered with theſe figures for me. In this dark dungeon, where
" for ages before no human foot had trod, we remained above half
" an hour, and then returned to the light of day with our prize.
" The deſtruction of this horrid priſon, was one of the moſt impor-
" tant ſteps in the progreſs of the French Revolution: Not ſo
" much from its direct conſequences, as from the new courage it
" gave to the friends of liberty. The Baſtille and the ancient
" ſyſtem of deſpotiſm, were ſo connected together in men's minds,
" that the fall of the one appeared the ſame as the ruin of the
" other. No ſooner was the Baſtille taken, but every patriot
" ſhouted in his heart, and ſaid to himſelf—All is over!—Tyranny
" is no more!—Some have made a great merit that ſo few priſoners
" were found in the Baſtille; but they ought to remember that
" this was to be attributed to the milder ſpirit of the times—to
" the progreſs of reaſon and liberty. The vindictive genius of

" deſpotiſm was the ſame; the inſtrument of it was equally horrible " as ever it had been, but the hand that employed it was weakened; " and if the riſing ſpirit of liberty could have permitted it to remain, " it would in time have become a priſon without priſoners, an " awful and uſeleſs monument of ancient oppreſſion, and a deplor- " able proof of the cruelty of human beings to their fellow men."

The public have been amuſed with various conjectures and fictions, relative to the man with the iron maſk; but nothing has appeared among the Records of the Baſtille, to furniſh any clear explanation of this myſterious affair. The following is the account given by the Society.

" In the Regiſter for the year 1697, there is a leaf wanting, " folio 120. It has not been torn; on the contrary, it appears to " have been taken out with the utmoſt care and precaution. The " want of this leaf confirms what is related by Sainte-Foix con- " cerning the man with the iron maſk. He aſſures us, that in the " year 1698, M. de Cinq Mars, being appointed Governor of the " Baſtille, came thither from the Iſles of St. Marguerite, bring- " ing with him that priſoner. It is our opinion that nothing can " be aſcertained concerning him, from the papers found in the " Baſtille. The ſame precaution which caſt around him an impe- " netrable veil, when alive, has been exerted in deſtroying every " thing that might tend to diſcloſe his fate, when dead. The " public therefore ought to receive with caution, any accounts " that may be publiſhed of this celebrated priſoner. All our re- " ſearches concerning him have availed nothing: amongſt all the " papers in our poſſeſſion, and all thoſe communicated to us, not " the leaſt hint concerning him appeared. We are alſo well " aſſured, that a miniſter, famed for his integrity, and ſtill alive, " upon his coming into office, went ſeveral times to the Baſtille, " examined all the records himſelf, and after all declared, that he " could get no light into that myſterious affair, which he was ſo " anxious to diſcover."

As I pretend not, though a true and lineal deſcendant of the family of Search, to know more of this matter than the moſt enlightened men in Paris, I ſhall add no conjectures of my own. For near a century paſt, this circumſtance has occaſionally excited the attention of Europe; but neither the artifice of ſome, nor the credulity of others, has offered a ſatisfactory ſolution of the ænigma.

But, to proceed with M. de la Harpe's Reflections—

"A government may be arbitrary and corrupt, without being bloody, and our's certainly was ſo. Atrocious violence, exceſſive barbarity, has been peculiar only to the tribunals, and the puniſhment of La Barre and of Calas is not to be imputed to miniſters. The conduct of the latter is always more or leſs tempered by public manners; not ſo judiciary deſpotiſm; it adheres with equal tenacity to its ancient forms, as to its arrogance and its pretenſions. The ſelf-love of a man in place, has a tendency to ſoften him, if he at all regard the opinion of the public; but the pride of a parliament or college of juſtice diſdains public opinion, and will neither ſuppoſe, nor allow that a greater power exiſts than their own. A miniſter may conſult conſcience; ſocieties of this ſort cannot; the conſcience of the individuals that compoſe them, is overpowered by the *ſpirit of corporation, (eſprit de corps)*, an incurable ſpirit, which never feels remorſe, becauſe no one member is obliged *to bluſh for the whole*, and every procedure being regarded as the operation of all, it follows that no individual conſiders himſelf as chargeable with any thing. There is no example of a body of magiſtrates teſtifying any ſigns of repentance, after being guilty of the moſt noted injuſtice—repentance is inconſiſtent with their dignity!"

I congratulate our brethren of France, that an important and beneficial change has now taken place in their judicial polity—and our countrymen in Scotland, that, though in their college of juſtice they ſtill retain a remnant of that ſyſtem, which was calculated not to defend, but to confound the rights of man; not

not to preſerve an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, but to render it venal, yet happily they have eſcaped the miſchiefs attending the parliaments of France. The liberal ſpirit of our government, the genius of the people, the moral character of the judges, and, above all, the ſubjection of their deciſions to the reviſal of a ſuperior court, whenever it ſo pleaſed the parties, have been the principal cauſes of this difference between the conduct of a Scottiſh parliament, and that of many of the French, after whoſe model *it* was formed. The introduction of juries in *civil cauſes*, which ſeems now to be taken up with becoming ſpirit by ſeveral of the counties in Scotland, will ſtill go further to purify the College of Juſtice.

Again, however, let me attend to our philoſophiſing Frenchman.

" What renders the *Baſtille devoilée* a truly curious work, is that it preſents to us for the firſt time a faithful picture of deſpotiſm, drawn by its own hand. It cannot therefore be ſaid, that the portrait is overcharged. Suppoſe the caſe of a robber, an exact man in his profeſſion, (which is nothing incredible), had amuſed himſelf by keeping a correct account of his robberies, thefts and plunders, thus: Such a day, robbed Mr. ſuch a one, in ſuch a place, of ſo much; ſuch another day robbed Mr. ſuch a one, in ſuch another place, of ſo and ſo, &c. and that he particularized all the other circumſtances; I do not imagine, that if he happened to be confronted with his book, he would have diſowned it. This is exactly the caſe in the preſent inſtance; and when we compare the deſpotiſm of miniſters with the regiſters of the Baſtille, we may ſay to them—Behold your hiſtory, written by yourſelves—your own ſentence which you have paſſed, and from which you cannot appeal!

" In fact, let a man read theſe regiſters only without notes, or commentaries, or reflections, or any thing elſe whatever; let him conſider the regimen of that horrid abode, detailed article by article with the minuteſt exactneſs; the ſkilful precautions, the

multiplied conſtraints, the ſucceſſion of little cruelties, the ingenious refinements of art in converting all poſſible circumſtances, ſolitude, company, ſilence, noiſe, light, darkneſs, wants, food, waking, ſleeping, fear, hope, conceſſions, refuſals, &c. into inſtruments of torture, every day, every hour, every minute;—let him examine the motives of detention, the interrogations, the means employed to ſeize, or to ſeduce, or to obtain information from the priſoner;—and the firſt thing that ſtrikes him will be, that entire and profound forgetfulneſs of all natural rights, or rather that diſdainful contempt of them which appears in characters ſo marked, ſo open, ſo unmixed; that compound of impudence, baſeneſs, and ferocity ſo frankly avowed, that he will be led to aſk of what nature thoſe were, or were believed to be, who framed or executed ſuch a ſyſtem of oppreſſion? Did they think themſelves above or below humanity? This is certain, that every one, who deſerves the name of *man*, upon reading theſe ſingular records of tyranny, will feel his mind overcome and depreſſed by bitter humiliation—will ſhudder, and be ready to aſk himſelf, Is there ſuch a root of wickedneſs and malignity at the bottom of the human heart? Am I indeed of this ſpecies? All the faculties of my ſoul, roufed at once, diſclaim the idea: But why then do beings, ſo different from me, poſſeſs the ſame figure, language and name?——

"M. de la Harpe goes on for ſome time in the ſame animated ſtrain, and ſays, that as it is not in human nature to do miſchief purely for the ſake of miſchief, one might be tempted to aſcribe the invention of the Baſtille-regulations to thoſe malignant ſpirits, whoſe ſole and eternal employment, we are taught to believe, conſiſts in deviſing or executing evil. For many of the regulations of that inquiſitorial code, ſeem to have no motive whatever, for the infliction of hardſhips and pain, but to do it as it were *gratuitouſly*. For example, the denying the priſoners clean linen, books, and other little neceſſaries, the obliging them to go unſhaved, and the great myſtery and importance aſſumed, when it was permitted to any particular priſoner to be under the hands of the barber of the priſon; the refuſing every communication between the impriſoned and their relations, even on the moſt common

mon affairs, as exemplified in the case of M. Hemery, a poor citizen in 1751, who begged hard for permission to send an open letter to his wife on their family affairs, and being refused, earnestly entreated "in the name of the Holy Trinity, that he might "only see the name of his wife written with her own hand upon "a card, in order to assure himself of her existence;" which also was denied him.

"It is some consolation, however, adds M. de la H. that on examining all that is base in despotism, we find that very excess of precaution and terror which it adopts, productive of a degree of littleness, and a kind of puerility, which renders it as contemptible as it is odious. In general, a despot resembles a foolish and wicked child, possessed of the strength of a man; and if I wished to personify Despotism, I would do it by the figure of a giant disproportioned, who had the features of a child without their sweetness, a gaping mouth, an ideot air, haggard eyes, large sharp teeth, ape's ears, and the claws of a tyger.

"What can be more puerile, for instance, than the chimerical supposition, *that it must never be known who was in the Bastille*, when in fact it was almost always well known, and the ministry themselves most commonly made no secret of it. This groundless idea however was the occasion, or the pretext, for an abundance of daily restraints, insupportable to the prisoners. For a long time the Cardinal de Rohan durst not quit his room before seven in the evening, because the workmen then employed in building a Chapel in the Bastile, only left off at that hour. All Paris, all Europe knew the Cardinal was imprisoned there; but that signified nothing; the rule was, that he must not be seen! If this be not folly in the extreme, I should be glad to know what it is.

"The oath also exacted from prisoners on their release, to reveal nothing of what they had seen or heard in the Bastille, was a most egregious absurdity. Could they believe that such an oath was obligatory? I mention not the impiety of thus profaning

ing the religion of an oath—for I am not so inconsistent as to speak of religion, of justice, of morals or of obligation, in describing the proceedings of despotism, which, where it is concerned, are words without a meaning.

"It is consolatory also in perusing the records of the Bastille, to see the profound contempt of itself, which despotism infused into its own agents; with what impudence they duped it, how they ridiculed it while they received its wages, how they procured its rewards for impositions put upon it by themselves. It would seem as if they reasoned thus: "We are no better than our masters; "but at least we are not such fools." Consult on this subject the well-authenticated accounts of a Goupil, of a Jacquet, and of many others, whether inspectors or spies; and you will see for how many years they obtained considerable sums, pensions, and honorary distinctions for libels of their own composing, which they boldly informed against, and at the same time got printed in foreign countries, whither they sent either to stop the publication or to purchase the impression. You will learn also, how they brought a *hundred* copies at a time to the Police, for which they were well paid, while they distributed them by *thousands* through the kingdom, by means of trusty hawkers who shared with them in the profits.

"The shuffling tricks of Gil Blas, of the adventurer Buscon, of Bruscambille, &c. fall much below the genius of these worthy agents of the police at Paris—that *admirable police*, whose praise I have heard so often repeated, and which was the *finest machine* in the world, next to our finance, another *mighty machine*, that for so long a time challenged admiration. Poor Frenchmen! poor Parisians! how often have you heard, my good people, that there was nothing in the world finer than these two machines! and so you believed, till the secret was revealed. This at last you are acquainted with: the secret of the finance was nothing else but to lend to the king the money of the king, that is the people's money, at a heavy interest; and that of the police was to keep in

pay an army of great rogues to hunt after little ones. That police, charged especially with three things, the cleanliness, light, and safety of the city, never were acquainted (as might easily be proved) with the elementary principles of their office; they never knew how to clean the streets, they never suspected that the lamps* and reflectors were in such a position as to have their light necessarily intercepted every moment by intervening objects, which would not have been the case, had they been placed laterally; they never thought of prohibiting the many incumbrances of the public-way, which render carriages so dangerous to people on foot; they never considered of any method to prevent the danger occasioned by the vast crowds of carriages at the dismission of public places; they never were capable of so distributing their guards by night as to bring all within the compass of their succour and inspection; and in fine, the number of accidents occasioned by Cabriolets, never inspired them with courage sufficient to forbid their use, truly intolerable in a city like Paris. In vain did Louis XV. exclaim,—"Were I lieutenant of police, there should be no Cabriolets in "Paris;" they have always existed, because the people only suffered by the use of them, and in France the people were considered as nobody. Here then is the great evil of arbitrary governments; that man, considered as man, is accounted nothing. In them is emphatically verified, that energetic, yet mournful saying of Lucan: *Humanum paucis vivit genus.* The human race live only for a few. Of this we will be but too well convinced in reading the motives for imprisonment, as described in the registers of the Bastille. Here such phrases as these eternally occur: *suspected; held for a suspicious character; for designs against the ministry; for impertinent letters; for the affairs of the times.* For such reasons, then, it seems to have appeared quite a simple affair, to condemn men to years of captivity,—and such a captivity as would have sufficed to expiate the greatest crimes, if indeed it be permitted to punish

* For the information of such of my readers as have not been in Paris, it may be proper to observe, that the lamps are hung up on the centre of cords stretched across the street, and hence every carriage intercepts their light from the passengers.

punish any crime whatever in that manner! No, it is by no means lawful; crimes which wage mortal war with society, ought to be punished with death; those that commit a less flagrant violation of its order, should be punished by the imposition of labour, for the benefit of society, more or less tedious and severe, according to the circumstances of the case. In a word, society has the right of destroying a common enemy; it has the right of rendering useful a public disturber; but it possesses not the right of torturing any person. The reason of this is evident: laws enacted for the preservation of order, ought not to violate the first of all laws, *humanity;* ought not to imitate, by the cruelty of their punishment, the cruelty of malefactors. This is in substance the theory of penal law.

"It appears from the Bastille calendar, that there have been some criminals there, many bad characters, but a greater number of persons reprehensible in a very slight degree, or entirely innocent—victims of the intrigues of powerful enemies, and of the interests, passions, or mistakes, of the ministry. Criminals should have been given up to the courts of justice. Bad characters are not amenable to the law, so long as they do not break it; and as to the pretended utility of restraining such by confinement, the immorality, the illegitimacy, and the falsehood of that miserable pretence, are demonstrated from the third class of prisoners, just mentioned, the innocent and the oppressed; for let once the door be opened to arbitrary power, under whatever pretext, and a multitude of these will necessarily be ensnared.

"Vain and superficial men, who persuade themselves, that in morals and legislation, as in works of imagination and taste, merit consists in saying what has not been said, and in performing what has never been performed, will perhaps exclaim, "Why repeat "what all the world knows? Why insult ruins? Who justifies the "Bastille?" I answer, Many people—Many still think like that minister, who concluded his justification of *Lettres de Cachet*, by saying, "If they are not the justest of measures, they are at least "the

" the moſt convenient :" and like that other, who ſaid, " If there " were no Lettres de Cachet, I would not be miniſter ;" which would have been a great loſs, to be ſure. Beſides, we Frenchmen, from our lively, but tranſient ſenſations, are apt to imagine that our thoughts of to-day will ever continue : the preciſe reaſon that makes us change ſo often. We know not, like the Engliſh, how to rivet ourſelves faſt and conſtantly to the ſame ideas ; yet that alone can render our feelings habitual and laſting, and identify them as it were with our minds : it is thus that a national ſpirit is formed, ſo eſſential to liberty. It is time for us to labour to produce one. Not only ought every Frenchman to be taught reading in the ſchools endowed by government, but he ſhould learn to read in the *Catechiſme du Citoyen*, (the Citizen's Catechiſm) ſuited to the capacity of every body, where children will be early taught contempt and hatred of arbitrary power, love and reſpect for the law. If you would not chuſe to ſee the Baſtille rebuilt, the idea of which tyrants of every kind will long cheriſh in their mind, let your infants, your children of every age, read the *Baſtille devoilée*, and ſay to them, " Behold what lengths a government can go " which is not founded upon the law!" Man is the creature of habit : ſo much ſo, that cuſtom may even make him in love with ſlavery. Make uſe then of that property, to induce him to love liberty as he ought, that is, above every thing : happily this is the more eaſy influence, yet not to that degree we are apt to imagine.

" In theſe precious regiſters one will read the following details : " The Sieur Durand, ſecretary of the king's counſel, formerly " commiſſary general of the Caiſſe des Emprunts—For having " embezzled the money of the Caiſſe, and of the Gabelles."

" Well! they ſhould have hanged Mr. Secretary, the robber of the Gabelle, as they did Mr. de Longuemain. He ought to have been hanged on the ſame principle that a ſervant ſuffers who ſteals from his maſter, as at that time *hanging* was the puniſhment of *theft*. Is it not incomprehenſible that a man ſhould be hanged for ſtealing a ſingle crown from an individual, and not ſo when he ſteals a

hundred thouſand from the king, that is from the people! It is high time to put an end to this monſtrous folly.

" The Sieur Duprez, his wife, daughters and domeſtics, of the " pretended reformed religion—for having been deſirous to quit " the kingdom."

" Truly they were much in the wrong to wiſh to leave a kingdom where Proteſtants were ſo well treated!

" It is impoſſible to think with coolneſs of the tranſactions of thoſe times: the epoch of the revocation of the edict of Nantes is that of *tyranny run mad.* O Voltaire, can it be, that in your Age of Louis XIV, you have not permitted the weight of juſtice to fall with all its force on that grand crime of the Monarch, that you have warded off the blows! I know your motives; but on ſuch topics, one ſhould either be ſilent, or tell the whole.

" The Abbé Dubois, a very bad-hearted man, and a chicaner."

" When a man is ſent to the Baſtille for being bad-hearted, thoſe that ſend him thither are worſe than he. As to his being guilty of chicanery, all that could be done was to renew the arrêt againſt Madame Pimbéche.

" On me defend, Monſieur, de plaider de ma vie."

" Rolland. He wiſhed to give himſelf to the devil."

" Apparently they took him at his word, when they put him into the Baſtille.

" Salomon Leeler, a new convert, but bad catholic." Without doubt he would come out a better convert, and more attached to the Catholic Faith. So powerfully does the Baſtille perſuade!

" The folly of convulſions occaſioned the impriſonment of a multitude of perſons, among others, a young girl ſeven years of age, and

and a poor woman subject to the epilepsy; *having unfortunately been taken with a fit in the middle of the street, she was thought to be a convulsionary, and arrested.*

"Francis Forcassi, an Italian—who deceived the Lords of the "court, by giving them remedies to make them grow young again."

"If these remedies were of a noxious quality, it was an offence cognizable by the tribunals, and the said Forcassi might in that case have been sent to goal as a dangerous quack: but if by selling innocent drugs, as those quacks do, who figure on the *Pont-neuf*, he only obtained a little money from those who were fools enough to believe they could *grow young again*, where is the harm? Is it more unlawful to *dupe the Lords*, than to dupe the people? Is there any law against living at the expence of fools? A great part of mankind have no other revenue."

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN NUMBER IV.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. SEARCH,

YOUR ingenious speculations have afforded me no small satisfaction, in my retired situation in the country, and I promise myself much pleasure from the continuance of your researches. I observed in the advertisement of the *Spirit of the Times*, which appeared in the papers, that you promised to investigate the state of *Literature*, as well as public affairs; but as no such intimation was mentioned in your work itself, nor on the blue cover, and you seem to be ardently engaged in *Politics*, I much fear that that subject will wholly engross you, and that we shall not have the pleasure of seeing the state of the Republic of Letters reviewed,

in that comprehenſive and inſtructive manner in which you delineate that of the public world. Permit me, however, to remind you, that there is an intimate connection, and reciprocal influence, between Literature and Government, ſo that the ſtate of the one, cannot thoroughly be underſtood, or appreciated, without ſome acquaintance with that of the other. The French Revolution, of which you are a warm admirer, and of which I am no leſs ſo, was the offspring of *Philoſophy;* the principles of it were firſt admired in books, and then realized in life. I conceive therefore, that it would be highly ſuitable to your plan, to give us occaſionally a paper on the great facts, or leading tranſactions in Literature, as forming an eſſential portion of what you have undertaken to exhibit—the *Spirit of the Times*.

I am, Sir,

Your conſtant reader,

Aug. 20, 1790. A. S.

Vicar of N. Kent.

S. SEARCH is much obliged to the worthy Vicar of N. (with whom he ſhould be glad to be better acquainted) for his advice, and has the pleaſure to inform him, that it was always his deſign to attend to the ſtate of Literature; and a ſpecimen of this kind will appear, as ſoon as he has got through ſome of the very intereſting political ſubjects, that at preſent occupy his thoughts. Any communication from the Vicar will be very acceptable.

No. VIII.

(Price 6d. To be continued occaſionally,)

THE

SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

IN A SERIES OF OBSERVATIONS ON THE

IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE AGE.

By SIMON SEARCH.

POLITICS.

CONTAINING

REFLECTIONS *on the* BASTILLE. IN A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

ALSO

REMARKS ON THE MEETING OF THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY, AT THE LONDON TAVERN, *Nov.* 4, 1790. —With an Addreſs to the Members.

No. I. and II. Of this Work contained—*An Account of the Engliſh Commemoration of the Firſt Anniverſary of the* FRENCH REVOLUTION, *In a Letter to* JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. *&c. &c.*

No. III. *Reflections on the* BASTILLE, *In a Letter to the* EARL *of* CHARLEMONT.

No. IV. VI. and VII. *A Letter to Mr.* PITT, *on our* DIFFERENCE *with* SPAIN.

No. V. *A Letter to the* PEOPLE *of* GREAT BRITAIN, *giving an Account of the* ANGLO-GALLIC FESTIVAL *at* NANTZ.

Communications may be addreſſed to Mr. S. SEARCH, at Mr. EVANS's, Bookſeller, Paternoſter-Row.

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MDCCXC.

TO
CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received A. B.'s Card, inquiring whether the Revolution Society ſtill exiſts?—We are ſurpriſed that the leaſt doubt could be entertained of its exiſtence, or that it ſhould be deemed in any danger, merely becauſe *one* Member had left it, or becauſe the laſt meeting was a little tumultuous. On the contrary, we can aſſure A. B. from *authority*, that the Society never was in a more flouriſhing condition, and that ſeveral new Members have lately given in their names. We may venture to predict farther, that the Revolution Society of London, being eſtabliſhed on *principle*, will be *indiſſoluble*.

THE

SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

LETTER II. *Continued.*

TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

M. DE LA HARPE continues his Extracts from the Regiſters of the Baſtille, with remarks in this manner :

" Malbay, who aſſiſted M. le Duc de Nivernois in ruining him-
" ſelf." Was it his buſineſs to prevent him? Nobody *ruins himſelf* alone, and *aſſiſtants* in this way are always at hand. But if a man is not ſent to the Baſtille for ruining himſelf, why impriſon his aſſiſtants? This is a ſingular kind of juriſprudence. It is true the regiſter obſerves, that this Malbay had *a very handſome wife*. Is that a caſe for the Baſtille? Why not?

" Angelique Noel, daughter of a mechanic—for having broken
" a great deal of glaſs in her father's houſe on St. Medard's
" day."

This is to pay dear for broken glaſs.

" Barneville—A partiſan of Friar Auguſtin."

A terrible thing indeed to be ſo!

" Catherine Querot—She ſtitched ſome pamphlets that were " Janſeniſt works."

Alas! this poor pamphlet-ſtitcher could not perhaps read. It was a crime then even to ſtitch Janſeniſt books; and before doing ſo, it was neceſſary to know that the ſheets contained no Janſeniſm. This is not very eaſy; but by way of amends, it is ſo important, ſo neceſſary, ſo equitable!

" Marguerite Corcon, an intriguing woman, who gave bad ad- " vice to Mde. de Morlac who went to law with M. de Mor- " lac." It would ſeem that this proceſs of Mde. de Morlac againſt M. de Morlac, intereſted at leaſt the tranquillity of France, if not of Europe, ſince *bad counſels* in that affair opened the gates of the royal caſtle of the Baſtille.

" Miſs Dupont, *ſuſpected of knowing the authors* of ſome verſes " againſt the king."

On this article there would be too much to ſay; I ſhall therefore leave it to the reader's reflections.

" The Abbé Langlet du Freſnoy, author of an Almanack, in " which he celebrates the Houſe of Stuart, and proves that Prince " Edward was the legitimate heir of the Crown of England, and " King George an uſurper."

This article is remarkable. Hume, in his Hiſtory of England, *made alſo an eulogium on the Houſe of Stuart;* and it was conſidered as no crime in England: it is ſtrange that it ſhould have been ſo in France. The Abbé Langlet *proved that Prince Edward was the legitimate heir to the Crown of England.* He was wrong; for the Houſe of Hanover had been legally called to the throne by the repreſentatives of the Engliſh nation: but he was only wrong in the eyes of reaſon; for otherwiſe his opinion was the ſame with that of Louis XIV. who had acknowledged the ſon of James II.

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as Prince of Wales; and beſides, of what ſignification are the ſentiments of an individual Frenchman concerning the Crown of England? The obſervation of the King of Pruſſia would have been proper in this caſe, *Has he one hundred and fifty thouſand men, that I ſhould anſwer him?* But in 1748, they had the baſeneſs to arreſt at Paris the Pretender, who truſted to the faith of royalty, and the ſacred regard in which places of refuge are held; and equally baſe in 1750, they paid their court to the Engliſh miniſtry, by oppreſſing a French citizen. HISTORY HAS NEVER BEEN WRITTEN TILL NOW: NOW IT SHOULD DO JUSTICE, AND IT WILL DO IT.

Here follows another article no leſs worthy of attention.

"The Sieur de Monchenu, Meſtre de Camp in the Cavalry "and Equerry to the King—For having killed his lacquey with "a ſtroke of his ſword. Entred into the Baſtille the 6th March "1750, diſcharged the 20th of the ſame month. He had been "already there in 1744, for the ſame affair."

"It was for an affair altogether ſimilar, that in our days Earl Ferrers was hanged at London. Here it was got over by fifteen days in the Baſtille. This was one of the principal motives why Lettres de Cachet had ſo many ſupporters: they inſured impunity to the great, and oppreſſion to the weak: a two-fold ineſtimable advantage! Thoſe who think ſo, will conſider England as much to be pitied—without a Baſtille, and where they hang Lords that kill their lacqueys. Poor nation!"

"A very ſingular circumſtance related in a letter of M. Briſſot de Warville (third part, page 77), diſplays that dread of England which it was natural for our French *Vizirs* and *Baſhaws* to be poſſeſſed with. M. B. de Warville was ſent to the Baſtille in 1784, on his return from England which rendered him, though very unjuſtly, ſuſpected of being concerned in ſome of thoſe groſs and ſcandalous ſatires, then advertiſed and circulated in London, with a view to have them bought up by the Court of France. It was

not difficult to prove that theſe productions, ſo dully infamous, were not, and could not be the work of a man of ſcience *.

" When his enlargement was thought of, the Lieutenant of Police was ordered to promiſe it to him as near at hand, on condition that he would give his word of honour *not to return to London.* M. de Briſſot, greatly aſtoniſhed, demanded the motive of that condition: *nothing elſe*, replied one to him, *but the hatred of the miniſter* (M. de Vergennes) *againſt England, and the dread he has of ſeeing principles of Liberty diffuſed.*

" Yes, ſuch an averſion for the Country of Liberty was both deeply rooted, and acutely felt from the bottom of the ſoul by tyrants and their flatterers. In ſpite of the habit of reſtraining and diſguiſing their feelings impoſed by etiquette, what they felt when the government of England was praiſed in their preſence, immediately appeared in their countenance, and by the bitterneſs that followed in their diſcourſe. Hence one of the common-place topics of flattery moſt uſed at Verſailles, was to ridicule *the pretended liberty of the Engliſh*, and to maintain that we poſſeſſed freedom in a degree much more extenſive. I have ſeen people ſilly enough to give a ſerious reply to ſuch pre-concerted converſations, which were in fact only words deſcriptive of a courtier, and uſed merely to bring the ſpeaker into notice. I never otherwiſe anſwered them than by a ſmile of contempt; and all

* I have never (ſays M. de la Harpe) had the honours of the Baſtille; although the good will of ſome people was deſirous of procuring them for me very early. In 1764, they would have it, that I was the author of ſorty verſes againſt I know not what edict of finance: I never read either the edict or verſes, I only knew by common report that they were extremely low. I thought however, that without too much prepoſſeſſion in my own favour, I might obſerve to a man in office, that it was not my ſtile. " Oh! ſaid he to me, as if " we knew not that you can diſguiſe your ſtile! " Undoubtedly, replied I, " there is ſo much honour and profit in being ſent to the Baſtille, and paſſing " for a fool." I need not add, that the gentleman with whom I converſed, was one of the moſt temperate characters that ever poſſeſſed the office of miniſter.

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thoſe that made uſe of ſuch language, gave me thereby a ſufficient impreſſion of their character.

"It is a fact, that at Verſailles, for the laſt twenty years of the reign of Louis XV. they dreaded and deteſted England as an *example*, a hundred times more than as a *rival*. It was one of the complaints of the court againſt men of letters, whom they accuſed of *anglomania*. Gladly would they have ſeen funk under the waves, not the nation, that had vanquiſhed, humbled and cruſhed us in the four quarters of the globe; but that iſland, ſo *determinately democratic*, where the vengeance and the outrages of French deſpotiſm could not reach, and which ſuggeſted to all men capable of thinking—*there is then a free people ſo near us!*"

It is impoſſible to read theſe obſervations of M. de la Harpe, without thinking of the ſtate of things at preſent amongſt ourſelves. It would ſeem as if we had changed ſides. For we have amongſt us a ſet of men who inveigh againſt the liberty of France, in the ſame abſurd and hypocritic manner that the French uſed to do againſt ours. Our ſtateſmen are generally inveterate enemies of the new ſyſtem eſtabliſhed there; and if any man would ſucceed at our Court, he cannot take a better plan than to revile the French Revolution.

But the French Conſtitution is founded in reaſon, and ſooner or later Reaſon will prevail againſt all her oppoſers. She will convince and confound all that gainſay her. In vain did the French miniſters attempt to ridicule the liberty of England; and equally vain will be the efforts of miniſters here, to abuſe the temporary evils inſeparable from a great revolution, into an argument againſt the wiſeſt and beſt ſyſtem of government ever eſtabliſhed amongſt men.

"All ſorts of inſtruction may be looked for, in a work that expoſes all kind of injuſtice. To ſtrengthen that juſt averſion, every good and reaſonable man has long entertained, to the ſyſtem of our

our exchequer, it may be proper to read the case of M. Rubigni de Berteval, tanner in Paris, sent to the Bastille in 1777, for having written memorials presented to the ministry against the ruinous impost of marking leather. There is perhaps nothing more calculated to display all that was vicious and baneful in the arbitrary system of our administration. That worthy citizen had merited the protection and encouragement of two enlightened and virtuous ministers of finance, M. Turgot and M. Neckar, who had done justice to the wisdom of his views and patriotic intentions. But in consequence, he had reason to expect the animadversion of Abbé Terray, and above all the implacable hatred of the *Leather-office* (Regie des cuirs). Of this he adduces an incontrovertible proof, from a letter of one of the directors of the office to an inspector. "The *company*, Sir, are informed, that it is the "Sieur de Berteval who writes against them: we must go to law "with that man, and *crush him if possible*: your places depend on "it."

"Let us not be surprised at this letter. Interest, particularly in *companies*, operates in such a way; it is a matter of course, M. de Berteval had demonstrated, "that, before the tax, he manu-"factured upwards of 46000 hides; but since its imposition, not "more than 6000 skins of all sorts: that in 1759, there were "in the principal cities of the kingdom, 622 tan-houses; that in "1775, they were reduced to 198; that the leather-office had de-"stroyed the goodness of the manufacture, disturbed the peace "and the trade of 30,000 families, occasioned a prodigious emi-"gration of able workmen; and finally, that the loss to the state "since 1750 was 160 millions.*"

"The author of a memoir of such utility and importance, would have been distinguished and consulted at London by the House of Commons; but here a Regie (a board) was a power not to be con-

* This calculation was verified in the Assembly of the Notables by Messrs. Fourqueux and Dupont.

trouled.

trouled. At firſt they attempted to ruin M. de Berteval, by cauſing falſe marks to be put on the hides in his warehouſe, by means of the officer whoſe buſineſs it was to examine them. This piece of villainy, unhappily too frequent, was without effect, and without puniſhment. Afterwards they tried to intimidate him, by demanding of him in a public audience of the police, to renounce all intentions of writing againſt the *Regie*. He refuſed. Still there remained the great, the univerſal reſource, the Baſtille; and though he was protected by M. Neckar then in office, yet as every miniſter was abſolute in his own department, they obtained from him who preſided over Paris, an order to arreſt in open day, a reſpectable trader, and to tear from the arms of his wife and children, a father of a family. After ſome days he was enlarged, but the great blow had been ſtruck, a kind of ſtigma had been affixed on him; a man in buſineſs is not impriſoned in ſuch a manner, without ſuffering in his affairs and reputation at leaſt for ſome time; without being at leaſt ſomewhat diſguſted with writing for the *public intereſt* in oppoſition to a board, who he finds attend ſo particularly to *their own private intereſt*; and thus it is, *that all is for the beſt in this beſt of poſſible worlds.*

"I call upon all good citizens, whoſe ſituation enables them to have an immediate communication with the people, and to be attended to by them, Curates for example, thoſe uſeful and eſtimable men, to whom the nation at laſt does juſtice by meliorating their condition; I call upon them to make the people as much as 'tis poſſible underſtand, inceſſantly to repeat to them, that their well-being is henceforth ſecured to them by the law of the conſtitution, which leaves dependent on their repreſentatives only the impoſition of taxes, and on the provincial aſſemblies the diſtribution of taxes ſo impoſed. Thanks to that law, ſo equitable and ſo neceſſary, they are for ever ſecure from oppreſſion. Between the arbitrary ſyſtem of exchequer, and the legal impoſition of taxes, there is this difference, that in the one, the miniſter, who was always king for the moment, never concerned himſelf but for the moment, as not being ſure that he ſhould be king for another day;

day; and therefore he enquired not whether a tax were deſtructive, vexatious, oppreſſive, provided it furniſhed money for the inſtant, money being the only thing that was aſked of him, and what alone could preſerve to him his place. On the contrary, in the ſyſtem of legal taxation, there is no reaſon to fear being thus diſtreſſed, ſince thoſe who decree and diſtribute the impoſts, are men who muſt always pay them in common with the reſt of the people; and inſtead of having to anſwer only to the king and his court, who were perpetually ſaying, *we muſt have money*, they are now reſponſible to the nation at large, whoſe language will be, *we ought only to give what money is neceſſary.*

"The difference is immenſe; make the people clearly perceive this; perſuade them that it is their intereſt to pay readily and with good-will the ſubſidy legitimately impoſed; that it would be inexcuſable to ſeek to evade it; that for ſo blameable a reſiſtance, they would ſoon be puniſhed by the diſorders of perpetual anarchy; and that if they do not join in the meaſures of their repreſentatives, they will fall a prey to their enemies.

"This ſalutary exhortation I recommend not without reaſon. Too many perſons have already endeavoured to perſuade the people, that ſince they *are free*, they ought *to pay nothing*; this would be the ſureſt way to prevent them from being *long free.*

"However deſirous I am to abridge this article, which has lengthened in ſpite of me, it is not poſſible to paſs over a ſingular trait in this hiſtory of inhumanity, and which would be incredible, but for the infallible and irrefragable regiſters of the Baſtille. It is, that an old man upwards of a *hundred years* of age, M. Conſtant, was ſhut up in this *ſtate* priſon, the 5th March 1760, and enlarged the 10th of April following. The regiſter adds, *he was then aged one hundred and eleven years, and remarkably well.* The Editors remark, *that the motive of his detention is not expreſſed.* I am not ſurpriſed at it; but I am ſo that they ſhould be ignorant of a matter which was public, and made a good deal of

of noiſe at the time. It is without doubt curious to know what could have ſent to the Baſtille a man of that extraordinary age, ſo far beyond the term of life at which the law ceaſes to impriſon debtors. This M. Conſtant was a citizen of good reputation, and had obtained a ſmall penſion from Louis XV. from the rare circumſtance of having lived a century. As it was not punctually paid, and he was ſtraitened for want of it, he went to make his complaint at the public levee of the miniſter Comte St. Florentin; there probably he had in ſome little degree exerciſed the right of age, and had not preſerved in his expreſſions and tone that guarded circumſpection which ſuited the etiquette of the place: this was the leaſt that was due to the *majeſty* of a miniſter, whom he had dared to reproach for keeping back what had been granted by the *goodneſs* of the King.

"What then is the end and the reſult of theſe obſervations? It is this—At the moment in which I write, the cauſe of liberty and that of deſpotiſm are pleaded on oppoſite ſides from one end of Europe to the other, and every friend of humanity has a right to interfere in the proceſs. I will not indeed carry my plea to the Divan at Conſtantinople; they would not underſtand me: but other powers are more or leſs enlightened; princes read, their children read. Often have they read, it is true, that abſolute power tended to the oppreſſion of the people; of that they are pretty well convinced: but that it was neither advantageous nor deſirable for monarchs themſelves, is a circumſtance far from being ſo generally acknowledged, though no leſs inconteſtible. People are careful not to acquaint them with this; on the contrary they repeat, they inceſſantly inculcate, that their greateſt intereſt, that to which every thing ought to give way, is their being *abſolute maſters*. Well! the memoirs of the Baſtille are proofs in point. We know that the ſole anſwer to all complaints, to every remonſtrance, was *reaſons of ſtate*. I addreſs myſelf to all who favour deſpotiſm, thus: I ſummon, I adjure you, among all that innumerable croud of priſoners ſhut up in the Baſtille, from

Richelieu, down to the prefent time, to point out a * fingle one whom the *intereft of the ftate* required to be deprived of that legitimate right common to all men, of being judged publicly and according to law!

" I defy you to prove to me, that *the intereft* of the King, *the authority* of the King, were ever the motive to thefe tyrannic imprifonings. On the contrary, all the facts without exception evidently prove, that the principle of thefe odious detentions was always private intereft, efpecially that kind of intereft common to all the agents of power, *to be all powerful in their refpective places.*

" I conclude, and you cannot deny my concluſion, that defpotifm is an excellent fyftem for all its miniſters; excellent for their paſſions, their fortune, their pride, their revenge, their pleafures; but deteftable for the people whom it cruſhes, deteftable alſo for Kings, whom it renders odious and contemptible, all whofe faults it occafions, all whofe misfortunes, and fometimes their ruin.

" There is a principle of juſt reaſon in all men; and ſo well do the people feel that it is not Kings who are intereſted in reigning defpotically, that it is to them they always raiſe their voice and their complaints againſt the acts of defpotiſm; and on the other hand, miniſters have always been ſo ſenſible of the ſame truth, that they have held it an invariable maxim to prevent by all means the complaint from ever reaching the ear of the Monarch.

" Let me ſuppoſe for a moment, that, as we ſee in ſome Fairy Tales, there was a ſupernatural power to oblige men to bring out, in ſpite of themſelves, all that lay in the bottom of their heart, ſo that their moſt ſecret thoughts ſhould appear on their lips;

* I except only the *man with the iron maſk*, a fact ſingular in all its circumſtances, and which can be compared to nothing elſe: which beſides would ſtill prove nothing, ſince the treatment of this priſoner muſt have proceeded from a fundamental error, an original wrong that ought not to have been committed.

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this then would be the exact every day's language of Courtiers to their King: "When we tell you, Sire, that your power is ab- "solute, unlimited, above all laws, and derived to you from God, "it is not becauſe we believe a word of it; we know well that "God has given no perſon ſuch a power: nor is it becauſe you "have need of a power of that kind: were yours only what it "ſhould be, the power of executing the law, your exalted rank raiſe "you ſo far above other men, ſo readily bring all poſſible enjoy- "ments within your reach, without encroaching upon thoſe of "others, that unleſs you are totally inſenſible, you can have no "deſire to be unjuſt to any one. But, Sire, it is not ſo with us; "if your fortune be made, ours is not: you are too great to have "any thing to contend for, to envy any perſon; but we muſt "have riches, honours, power; we have enemies, rivals, men "jealous of us, detractors; and we want, not without reaſon, to "invade, uſurp, pillage, inſult, oppreſs, and take our revenge with "impunity; and therefore, Sire, if it be not neceſſary that you "ſhould be abſolute on your own account, at leaſt you ſhould be "ſo on ours; it is in your name that we muſt be enabled to ac- "compliſh and to attempt every thing; you muſt never ſpeak to "any perſon but ourſelves, becauſe they may be able to tell you "the truth, and that you ſhould never know; there muſt be Baſ- "tilles to overawe the preſumptuous, who ſhould dare to find fault "that we governed in your name. In a word, Sire, the whole "ſecret of the art of reigning, conſiſts in this principle, that in "order to render a King truly a King, it is neceſſary that the de- "legates of his authority ſhould be able to abuſe it in every way, "and to do all the evil they wiſh, without the Sovereign ever "knowing a particle of the matter, without any perſon having "the right to complain of it, and without their being reſponſible "for ſuch conduct."

"Such is the confeſſion of the faith of deſpotiſm: ye princes and monarchs, deſire now to be abſolute, that your miniſters, your commanders, your intendants, and their clerks, may be tyrants un-

der your name, and that for their pleaſure you may be deceived, degraded, plundered, and deteſted!

"It is pretty generally imagined, that in proportion as the principles of true policy are diffuſed, all the nations of Europe will approach more or leſs to legal government: but I go farther, and venture to believe, that at this moment, when all the baſeneſs and abſurdity of deſpotiſm, ſo long diſguiſed under falſe pretences, and the vain language of flattery and mutual art, are at laſt expoſed to view; every Sovereign at all enlightened and honeſt, will care very little for being abſolute, and will ſeek to reſt his power upon the law. After all, it cannot be very flattering to ſelf-love, to be through the whole of life a *ſlave* and a *dupe*, which it is evident at this day is the fate of a *deſpot*.

"I ſhould not even be ſurpriſed that a revolution coſt leſs on the part of princes than on that of the people; that is to ſay, that the former would have leſs trouble in renouncing arbitrary power, than the latter in eſtabliſhing that of the laws. One of the greateſt evils produced by a long courſe of ſlavery, is an extreme corruption of ſoul; and a nation extremely corrupt may have eaſily dethroned tyranny, which was falling by its own exceſs; and yet for a long time be without that turn of mind, without the character and the manners congenial to liberty. I cannot too often repeat it, and I wiſh that I may be underſtood: If you would be free, conſider well that you are of more worth than when you were ſlaves; ſlavery diſpenſes with every virtue; liberty demands them all.

"With a view of arriving at this inference, I prevailed on myſelf to rake up the naufeous filth of the records of the Baſtille, though my heart frequently roſe againſt it. It appeared to me, that, in this book, the French nation exhaled a putreſcent odour; but afterwards, in comparing the paſt with the preſent, methought, as in the viſion of Ezekiel, that an almighty voice had ſaid, LET

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THESE DRY BONES LIVE, LET THEM RISE UP, AND FORM LEGIONS OF MEN; AND THE VOICE WAS THAT OF LIBERTY."

With this juſt and energetic figure, M. de la Harpe concludes his intereſting remarks. So copious and ſtriking have been his reflections, that they left little room or neceſſity for my own; and I doubt not, my Lord, but that you will peruſe them as I have done, with equal pleaſure and improvement. Before taking leave of that deſolate manſion of deſpotiſm, however, permit me to mention to your Lordſhip, and the lovers of Liberty, a curious fact.

The key of the Baſtille was carried over from Paris to England, as a preſent from the Marquis de la Fayette to Gen. Waſhington, by Mr. Paine, Author of Common Senſe *. Thus did the pupil ſend to his maſter in the ſchool of Liberty, one of Liberty's nobleſt triumphs; a more glorious offering a gallant mind could not make, a more agreeable it could not receive. To you, my Lord, who have ſtood forth a champion of the rights of man, I have now made my ſmall preſent, the pure offering of enlightened Reaſon, and ſome of the firſt fruits of Gallic Liberty.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervant,

S. SEARCH.

* Would it be imagined, that in this country, which boaſts of freedom and *good government* above all the nations on earth, the ſum of fourteen ſhillings ſhould have been charged as a duty on this precious relic, and a ſolitary print of the Baſtille alſo going as a preſent to Gen. Waſhington?—Such was the caſe however, and it is one of the many proofs we meet with every day, that our adminiſtration of finance, and of law, is equally oppreſſive and deplorable.

ANNIVER-

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE

REVOLUTION SOCIETY,

Held at the LONDON TAVERN, on *Thurſday*, *November* 4, 1790.

The Rev. Dr. RICHARD PRICE in the Chair.

Preſent alſo near Three Hundred Gentlemen, Friends to Freedom.

A GENERAL account of the proceedings at the meeting this year having been publiſhed by Dr. Price, I ſhall preſent it to my readers, before making any remarks of my own.

After dinner, the Character of KING WILLIAM was read by Dr. REES, as uſual; and the *Secretary* read the following *Report* from the *Committee:*

" *Gentlemen,*

" WITH the higheſt ſatisfaction your Committee come forward to report their general proceedings ſince your laſt Anniverſary, together with the anſwer of the National Aſſembly of France to your addreſs of that day, conveyed in a manner highly flattering to this Society, and containing ſentiments that reflect the greateſt honour on that auguſt body, which was conveyed in the moſt reſpectful manner by their preſident, the Archbiſhop of Aix, *viz.*

EXTRACT FROM THE VOTES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Of *Wedneſday* the 25th Nov. 1789.

" A member having read a congratulatory addreſs of the Engliſh Society, called the Revolution Society; the Aſſembly, deep-

ly affected with this extraordinary proof of eſteem, expreſſed its ſatisfaction by loud applauſe, and reſolved that the preſident be directed to write a letter to Lord Stanhope, Chairman of the Society, expreſſing the lively and deep ſenſibility with which the National Aſſembly of France received the addreſs of the Revolution Society in England, which breathes thoſe ſentiments of humanity and univerſal benevolence, that ought to unite together, in all countries of the world, the true friends of Liberty and the happineſs of mankind.

(Signed) THE ARCHBISHOP OF AIX,
Preſident of the National Aſſembly.

Sealed with the Arms of the National Aſſembly of France.

(Counter-ſigned) The Viſc. DE MIRABEAU, Secretary.
SALOMON DE LA SAUGERIE, Secretary."

"We have alſo received the warmeſt marks of approbation and reſpect from various patriotic ſocieties in France, aſſociated under the title of 'The Friends of the Conſtitution,' at the following cities and towns, *viz.* Aix, Alais, Amiens, Calais, Chalonſur-Saon, Creſey, Cherbourg, Dijon, Lille, La Rochelle, L'Orient, Montargis, Montpelier, Nantes, Paris, Pontoiſe, Straſburg, Toulouſe and Vire; together with many preſents (from different ſocieties and private perſons on the Continent) of literary works favourable to the great intereſts of general Liberty, which were conveyed in a very reſpectful manner to the Society, and which may be ſeen on application to the Secretary.

"But the very diſtinguiſhed manner in which your conduct has been noticed by the Society at Nantes, merits a more particular and marked attention. Language is wanting fully to repreſent to you the noble enthuſiaſm which took place on the day of a Feſtival celebrated in Auguſt laſt in that city, to which every Engliſhman reſident therein, and in the neighbouring towns, was invited. Nor can we better deſcribe the ardour of that day, than by reciting

ing to you a tranſlation of the Speech of Monſ. Français, their preſident, which gave riſe to the celebration itſelf.

(Here was read his Speech.)

" We muſt not omit to remark, that not content in the uſual way to addreſs their good wiſhes to this Society, they came to a reſolution to depute two of their members, Meſſrs. Français and Bougon (though at a diſtance of more than 600 miles) to deliver to this Society the repreſentation of a banner uſed on that day; on which, beſide the words ' *Pacte univerſel*,' were depicted the flags of England and France bound together with a ribbon, on which was this motto, ' *A l'Union de la France et d'Angleterre*;' and at the bottom, ' To the Revolution Society in London.'

" Theſe gentlemen have been very reſpectfully received and entertained by your Committee; and the following Addreſs having been made to the Committee—

(Here was alſo read the Addreſs.)

This Anſwer has been returned to that Society.

(Here was alſo read the Anſwer.)

" Not to treſpaſs too much on your time, we omit further Extracts from the Pamphlet, which muſt excite the moſt pleaſing ſenſations in every breaſt, on reading it.

" We ſhall only add, that the concluſion of the Speech of Monſ. Bougon breathes ſuch noble ſentiments, that we cannot refrain from joining in the wiſh, that " England and France, ever united, ever free, ever pacific, may be at once the model of nations, and the terror of tyrants."

" We have alſo the pleaſure to inform you, that the great objects of the Society, as expreſſed in the laſt report, which you ſanctioned,

ſanctioned, with a view to concentrate the union of the true friends of public Liberty, has been attended with ſucceſs; and that ſeveral Societies have been formed, and others are forming in this country, on the plan recommended by you, which, they truſt, will diſſeminate that ſpirit of watchfulneſs and regard to the great intereſt of freedom among our fellow-citizens, that will preſerve it inviolate, and fix upon the riſing generation an ardent attachment to its cauſe.

"Your Committee are perſuaded, that by the union of the friends of freedom, their rights are aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; and truſting that it will be highly honourable to avow themſelves in the moſt explicit manner, advocates for the pure and genuine principles of civil and religious Liberty, they have with this view (in 1788) prepared a book, in which thoſe gentlemen who are inclined to let their names be tranſmitted to poſterity as the friends of the great and glorious Revolution of 1688, may become members of this Society (on the payment of one guinea), and inſert them ſubſequent to the following *Preamble* and *three Declarations* which have received your aſſent two years ago, *viz.*

PREAMBLE.

"This Society, ſenſible of the important advantages ariſing to this country by its deliverance from popery and arbitrary power, and conſcious that, under God, we owe that ſignal bleſſing to the Revolution which ſeated our deliverer King William the Third on the throne, do hereby declare our firm attachment to the civil and religious principles which were recognized and eſtabliſhed by that glorious event, and which has preſerved the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and our determined reſolution to maintain, and, to the utmoſt of our power, to perpetuate thoſe bleſſings to the lateſt poſterity.

THREE PROPOSITIONS,

Containing the Fundamental Principles of the Society.

I. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.

II. That the abuſe of power juſtifies reſiſtance.

III. That the right of private judgment, liberty of conſcience, trial by jury, the freedom of the preſs, and the freedom of election, ought ever to be held ſacred and inviolable.

Reſolved,

THAT the thanks of this meeting be given to the Committee, for their exertions in conducting the buſineſs of this Society.

The following Gentlemen were then appointed a Committee for the year enſuing :

Meſſrs. Joſeph Benwell
John Lodge Batley
Jeremiah Batley
Samuel Boddington
Bayes Cotton
Benjamin Cooper
Michael Dodſon
Thomas Davies
Samuel Favell
Joſeph Gurney
Chriſtopher Harris
Thomas Brand Hollis
Edward Jeffries
Andrew Kippis, D.D. &c.
Henry Keene
Francis Kemble
Capel Lofft
Robert Manning
Rev. Thomas Morgan
John Middleton

Meſſrs. Richard Price, D. D. &c.
Michael Pearſon
Rev. James Pickbourn
John Philipps
Abraham Rees, D. D.
John Redman
Samuel Rogers
Henry Smithers
Henry Smith
Richard Sharp
William Smith
William Savill
Richard Carpenter Smith
John Hurford Stone
Joſeph Towers, L. L. D.
John Towgood
Abram Thorn
John Horne Tooke
James Weſt
James Watſon, M. P.

Reſolved,

Reſolved,

THAT the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Stewards, for their polite attention and liberal entertainment.

The following Gentlemen were then appointed Stewards for the next Anniverſary:

George Anſell, Eſq.
Captain Broom,
Samuel Boddington, Eſq.
Henry Cline, Eſq.
Malachi Foott, Eſq.
Edward Smith Foſs, Eſq.
Ebenezer Hollick, Eſq.
Samuel Rogers, Eſq.
Edward Smith, Eſq.
J. Furnill Tuffin, Eſq.
Wm. Towgood, Eſq.
Tho. Walker, Eſq.

By Samuel Shore, Eſq.
John Horne Tooke, Eſq.
Edmund Calamy, Eſq,
William Middleton, Eſq.
Joſeph Benwell, Eſq.
James Watſon, Eſq.
Michael Dodſon, Eſq.
John Hurford Stone, Eſq.
William Couldery, Eſq.
John Philips, Eſq.
Francis Kemble, Eſq.
Thomas Cooper, Eſq.

Reſolved,

THAT the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Samuel Favell, our worthy Treaſurer, and that he be continued Treaſurer for the year enſuing.

Reſolved,

THAT the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. Benjamin Cooper, our Secretary, for his unremitting attention and zealous exertions in the ſervice of this Society, and that he be continued Secretary for the year enſuing.

Reſolved,

THAT our moſt cordial thanks are due, and are moſt ſincerely given to the Reverend Dr. Price, our excellent Chairman, for his wiſdom and prudence in that ſituation.

Reſolved,

TO publiſh this Report in ſome of the Public Papers.

RICHARD PRICE, CHAIRMAN."

The principal toaſts given after dinner, were as follow:

" The Sovereignty of the People."

" A perfect repreſentation of the People in Parliament."

" The Glorious Revolution, and the immortal memory of our great deliverer King William the Third."

" Wiſdom to underſtand, and virtue to improve the bleſſings of our Conſtitution."

" The King."

" The Queen."

" The Prince of Wales."

" The Royal Family."

" Freedom of Election, Trial by Jury, and the Liberty of the Preſs."

" Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights."

" May Britons, in the enjoyment of their liberties, never loſe ſight of the price at which they were obtained, and the means by which they may be ſecured."

" May the example of the Revolution we now celebrate, prevent in this country the neceſſity of another."

" The National Aſſembly of France, and a happy ſettlement of their Revolution."

" The Society of 1789 at Paris."

" The Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution at Nantes, and Meſſrs. Français and Bougon, their Deputies."

Dr. Price having left the chair a few minutes, Serjeant Watſon deſired to drink his health, which was received with unbounded applauſe.

Dr. Price having returned to the Chair, thanked the company for having drunk his health, and gave the following toaſt: " The Parliament of Great Britain—and may it become a National Aſſembly!"

As the meaning of this ſentiment has been miſunderſtood by ſome, and wilfully miſrepreſented by others, the Doctor has thought proper

proper to print an explanation of it, in an Appendix to a new edition of his Sermon on the Love of our Country.

" On the 4th of November, in this year 1790, the Anniverſary of the *Britiſh* Revolution was celebrated, as uſual, at the LONDON Tavern.

" At this Feaſt, Dr. Price gave, as a toaſt,

" The Parliament of *Britain*—May it become a National Aſſembly!"

" By this toaſt no more was meant than to expreſs wiſhes of ſuch a reform in the repreſentation of the kingdom, as that the Parliament, conſiſting of Lords and Commons, might be juſtly deemed a *National* Aſſembly; that is, an aſſembly truly repreſenting the nation, and ſpeaking its voice.—But another ſenſe having been given it, totally foreign to the intention of the propoſer, and of the company that applauded it, it becomes proper to publiſh the following introduction to it, and explanation of it, which the propoſer had prepared, but was not able to deliver.

" It is a truth almoſt ſelf-evident, that it is the collected wiſ-
" dom and virtue of a nation that ought to govern it: and that,
" conſequently, in order to conſtitute the beſt form of govern-
" ment, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſuch modes of election, and
" ſuch an extenſion of the rights of election, as ſhall beſt tend to
" collect into the legiſlative aſſembly of a nation the greateſt
" quantity poſſible of the national wiſdom and virtue.—There can
" ſcarcely be better arrangements for this purpoſe than thoſe which
" have been lately adopted in FRANCE, and which form a part of
" its new conſtitution.

" That kingdom has been divided into nine regions; and theſe
" regions have been ſubdivided into 83 departments. It has been
" further divided into 249 equal ſections, called territories; and
" to each of theſe territories, a right is given to one repreſentative
" in the National Aſſembly. Its population is likewiſe to be di-
" vided into 249 equal parts, to each of which is in like manner

" annexed

" annexed a right to one repreſentative ; and the ſame is true of " the contributions to the revenue : ſo that the number of repre- " ſentatives conſtituting the legiſlative body will be hereafter " three times 249, that is 747, or nine for each of the depart- " ments taking them one with another, ſome departments ſending " more than nine, and ſome fewer, according to the greater " or ſmaller number of the equal parts juſt mentioned, of popu- " lation, and contributions which they contain. In conſequence " of theſe arrangements, France muſt continue always equally " and fairly repreſented : and a body of conſtituents, equal in " number and in their contributions, will always appoint an equal " number of repreſentatives.

" But what deſerves moſt to be attended to, is the manner in " which theſe repreſentatives are to be elected.

" The maſs of the people (not paupers, or minors, or in ſervi- " tude), are entitled to votes. Their votes are to be delivered " in the cantons where they reſide ; but the perſons thus elected " are not to be the repreſentatives, but the *electors* of the repreſen- " tatives: that is, the body of the people are to ſelect ſuch perſons in " every department as they ſhall think fitteſt for the office of chuſing " for them ſuch perſons as ſhall be beſt qualified to repreſent them " in the National Aſſembly. This mode of appointing the members " of a Legiſlative Aſſembly in a great kingdom was firſt ſuggeſted " by Mr. HUME, in one of his political eſſays, intitled, ' An ' Idea of a perfect Commonwealth.' And perhaps a method " better fitted to exclude corruption from elections, and to collect " into a legiſlature as much as poſſible of the ability and wiſdom " of a kingdom, can ſcarcely be conceived."

" Compared with ſuch a repreſentation, what is ours ?—The " compariſon is too humiliating.

" The correction of the abuſes in our repreſentation ought to " be the firſt object of the zeal of every Briton. While theſe " abuſes continue, our conſtitution cannot be conſidered as a free " conſtitution, except in theory and form. It wants that coun- " terpoiſe or independence of the three ſtates on one another, in

" which

" which its eſſence as a free conſtitution conſiſts; and the boaſts " we make of it are ridiculous.

" Equality of repreſentation is the baſis of public liberty. It " is the *one thing needful* in our government. Let us then drink " the Parliament of Britain—May it become a NATIONAL " Aſſembly!"

" John Horne Tooke, Eſq. in conſideration of Mr. Burke's Letter, which he termed " a Libel on the Conſtitution, and the " moſt unmerited abuſe of this Society in the perſon of Dr. " Price," moved this Toaſt:—" Should Mr. Burke be impeached for his Libel on the Conſtitution, may his trial laſt as long as that of Mr. Haſtings."

" May the glorious example of the French, in their exertions to recover their rights, be ſpeedily and ſucceſsfully imitated by the ſubjects of every arbitrary country in the world."

" May our Commerce increaſe, our Repreſentatives be honeſt, and the People free."

" Succeſs to the Government that prefers armed Citizens to armed Slaves."

" The immortal memory of Alfred the Great, and may all the Kings of the earth imitate his example."

" The immortal memory of Hampden, Pym, Ruſſell, and Sidney."

" The memory of Andrew Marvell, Milton, Locke, the late Mr. Thomas Hollis, and the late Dr. John Jebb."

" The cauſe of Liberty throughout the globe."

" The Navy of Great Britain, and may it always be ſucceſsful when employed in the national defence, and in promotion of general liberty."

" No jealouſy between Great Britain and France, nor rivalſhip, but for the univerſal extenſion of Peace, Liberty, and Virtue."

" The ſacred Rights of Man—May all nations have wiſdom to underſtand, and courage to defend them."

The

The following Song was compoſed for the occaſion, and ſung with great Spirit by Mr. DIGNUM.

BEHOLD Gaul's free enlighten'd Land
The *Rights of Man* declare,
And other Realms thoſe Rights demand
Which all mankind ſhould ſhare:
The flame that every breaſt ſhould know,
In Britiſh boſoms learn'd to glow.

Fair Freedom ſhot a tranſient light
On ancient Greece and Rome,
Then ſudden ſunk in erring Night,
Nor could ſhe fix her home,
Till Albion's happy ſhore ſhe found,
Whoſe radiance lights the Nations round.

Should Franks and Britons nobly join
As Arbiters of Right,
And, from each 'mancipated clime,
Oppreſſion put to flight:—
Then might we hope one day to ſee
All Nations happy, great, and free.

The harmony of the meeting this year, was interrupted by one of thoſe tumults from which no popular aſſembly can be always ſecured. As the proceedings therefore furniſh me with little that is agreeable or uſeful to expatiate upon, I ſhall content myſelf with a very few remarks.

Lord Stanhope's withdrawing his name from a Society in which he had ſo long held ſo diſtinguiſhed a rank, had occaſioned, as might be expected, very general ſurpriſe, and to this moment remains unaccounted for. Mr. Horne Tooke, conceiving that his Lordſhip's conduct was diſreſpectful to the Revolution Society, made a Speech full of wit and ſeverity on the occaſion, and concluded with moving, That henceforth no man ſhould be admitted into the Society, but *by his family name*.

Had the motion come from another quarter, or even had not the well-meant, but we think unneceſſary prudence of ſome ſpeakers, induced them to aſſert, that an aſſent to this motion would be conſidered by the world in general as a proof that the Society intended to imitate all the proceedings in France—I

firmly believe it would have paſſed without oppoſition. But while ſome were averſe to any motion that excluded the Nobility from the Society, and others felt a tenderneſs for Lord Stanhope on account of paſt ſervices—the moment that the unfortunate idea of *imitating France* was ſuggeſted, all the timid or prudent part of the aſſembly took an alarm—a general murmur was followed by a general confuſion—ſpeech claſhed with ſpeech—and while it was impoſſible for half the audience to hear, from the bad ſituation of the orators, many get up on the tables, which ſucceſſively broke down, and ſhivered all the bottles and glaſſes to pieces—the buſineſs as well as the harmony of the meeting was irretrievably loſt; and after ſome hours of warm altercation, of which I do not conceive the particulars intereſting enough to be recorded, the greater part of the company broke up.

To this tumult however ſucceeded a calm, which, like the tranquillity of the air after a ſtorm, either is, or from the contraſt ſeems to be, more perfect than uſual. About 20 or 30 gentlemen who remained were collected at the Steward's table, and Mr. Serjeant Watſon took the chair. That part of the Society's buſineſs which had been left unfiniſhed, was concluded by the excellent Preſident and the Society's active and zealous Secretary Mr. Cooper. A number of patriotic ſentiments were given by Mr. Watſon, and an hour or two was paſſed in the moſt perfect harmony and happineſs.

At a private meeting of the Friends of Freedom held ſoon after, the proceedings at the London Tavern were taken into conſideration; and after a good deal of diſcuſſion, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to, and ordered to be printed in the *Spirit of the Times*:

" I. That the grateful thanks of the Revolution Society are due to Earl Stanhope, for his eminent and meritorious ſervices as Preſident and Member of that Aſſociation.

" II. That however this meeting cannot conſider his Lordſhip's abrupt retreat from the Society without aſſigning any adequate cauſe, as a wiſe or well-judged meaſure; and that they con-

ceive he is under the ſtrongeſt obligations of propriety and reaſon to furniſh ſome farther explanation of his conduct—That ſuch an explanation is due from him to the Society, who have been traduced on his account as if they had adopted bad principles, in conſequence of which he deemed it prudent to abandon them; and that it is not leſs due to himſelf on his own account, as his conduct and character have been miſrepreſented, and muſt continue to be ſo, till he has furniſhed a farther explanation of this myſterious tranſaction.

"III. That this meeting are perfectly convinced, that his Lordſhip's retiring from the Society aroſe from no dereliction of thoſe public and patriotic principles which he has ſo long profeſſed, and which the Society is inſtituted to maintain;—becauſe his ſupport of theſe principles has been invariable, uniform, and manly;—becauſe the Society has adopted no new principles, ſince the time when his Lordſhip publicly, and in the face of the world, declared his approbation of their eſtabliſhed ſentiments;—becauſe therefore, in ſuch circumſtances, to ſuppoſe him to have deſerted the principles of Freedom, would be to make him altogether a *ridiculous apoſtate*, and to offer an equal inſult to his underſtanding, and to his heart.

"IV. That in the abſence of Earl Stanhope at the anniverſary 1790; the aſſembly acted properly in calling Dr. Price to the chair; and that the general teſtimony of applauſe given by the aſſembly when the Doctor entered the room, was a proper mark of the indignation of honeſt men at the groſs abuſe levelled at a worthy character by a penſioned ſophiſt in Parliament, and a proper teſtimony of reſpect for the venerable wiſdom and unſhaken fidelity of this "friend of human kind."

"V. That the motion of Mr. Horne Tooke, "to admit no "man into the Society but by his family name," was not intended to injure Lord Stanhope, for whom, as a *man*, Mr. Tooke profeſſed great reſpect—nor to exclude the peerage, of whom he only required that they ſhould come there as *Men*, and not as *Peers*; the intention of ſuch a Society being to aſſemble the *citizens* at large, not particular *claſſes*, *orders*, or *factions* of them, to commemorate thoſe bleſſings which the Revolution ſecured to the

whole

whole community, and to maintain thoſe principles which tend to promote the happineſs, not of *Lords*, but of the *human race*.

" VI. That although motives of prudence at the preſent delicate conjuncture might require ſuch a motion to be negatived, and this meeting do not blame certain reſpectable men who therefore oppoſed it, they are notwithſtanding of opinion, that it is entirely conſonant to the leading principles of the Society, that when it can be prudently revived, when the vain fears and ill-grounded objections of men can be ſo far obviated as to give reaſon to hope that it may paſs in a harmonious and peaceable manner, it ought to be propoſed anew—becauſe it would be honourable for Britain to poſſeſs one Society formed on the great principles of perfect equality and juſtice—which knew no diſtinction or character but that of *fellow-citizen*, and admitted no member on any other ground than that of his being a *wiſe and honeſt man*.

" VII. That although there is no impropriety in a Nobleman's being the Preſident of the Revolution Society, eſpecially if, like the Earl of Stanhope, he has uniformly ſhewn himſelf a friend to the rights of mankind; yet this meeting cannot but be of opinion, that there is a greater propriety in the Preſident of that Society being a *Commoner*, one of the *Tiers Etat*—and they are of opinion that ſuch a Preſident is moſt likely to act in accord with them, and to promote their true intereſts and real welfare.

" VIII. That this meeting think it ought to be recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner to the Stewards for the enſuing year, to take every precaution poſſible for the preſervation of order and harmony at the next anniverſary;—becauſe, at a meeting of this kind, the loſs of a day is the loſs of a year.

" IX. That for this purpoſe, as great confuſion aroſe at laſt meeting, from gentlemen not ſeeming to know whether they ſpoke as Members of the Revolution Society, or merely as members of the company then preſent, it ought to be clearly underſtood, that the anniverſary meeting is not a meeting of the Revolution Society of London, or confined to its members, but a General Aſſembly of the Friends of Freedom of every country and nation, on occaſion of the anniverſary of the Revolution of England, which eſtabliſhed freedom in that empire, and was the ſource of

liberty to America and to France, from whence they will be diffuſed over the world—to join with the London Society, in commemorating that great event, and in conſecrating the principles on which it proceeded.—That therefore the *peculiar* buſineſs of the Revolution Society of London ſhould not be there introduced, but ſuch parts of it only, as are of a general nature, and intereſting to the Friends of Freedom at large—That every perſon preſent ſhould have full liberty to ſpeak or vote on every motion propoſed; and that the reſolutions adopted ſhould be conſidered as the ſenſe of the General Aſſembly preſent, and not ſolely of the Revolution Society of London.

"X. That great and juſt complaints having been made by thoſe at the bottom of the room, that they could not hear the toaſts, nor any thing that was ſpoken, and in conſequence of this, the diſorderly crowding up to the top, the deſtruction of the tables, and all the ſubſequent confuſion having taken place, it be earneſtly recommended to the Stewards to deviſe ſome plan to prevent theſe inconveniences in future; becauſe they may be perfectly convinced that there will be an eternal diſorder, if people cannot hear what is publicly ſpoken. For this purpoſe, the meeting ſuggeſts the propriety of having the Steward's table placed in the middle, inſtead of being at one end of the room, which by a little contrivance might eaſily be accompliſhed, and which would give every perſon an opportunity of hearing and ſeeing all that paſſed, and in conſequence induce them to remain quietly in their places. S. SEARCH, *Chairman.*"

To theſe reſolutions I have only to add, that I ſent to be diſtributed amongſt the gentlemen aſſembled at the London Tavern, Nov. 4, an Addreſs on the ſubject of their meeting, and on the important duty of inſtructing the people. As I find ſeveral perſons preſent did not receive a copy of it, I have republiſhed it here.

A few days after there appeared a pamphlet, intitled "A Hint or two concerning SIMON SEARCH and his Aſſociates, &c. by a Citizen:"—which, from its trifling nature and dullneſs, I might very properly paſs over in ſilence; but of which I ſhall ſay a few words in my next number, having neither leiſure nor room at preſent.

TO

THE NATION, THE LAW, AND THE KING!

TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

REVOLUTION SOCIETY,

AND THE OTHER GENTLEMEN,

Aſſembled at the *London Tavern*, to commemorate the Anniverſary of the REVOLUTION in ENGLAND;

AND

TO THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY IN GENERAL:

SIMON SEARCH,

IN NAME OF HIMSELF AND HIS ASSOCIATES,

WISHES HEALTH and HAPPINESS,

AND

SUCCESS equal to THE GOODNESS of THEIR CAUSE.

LONDON, *NOVEMBER* 1790.

TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

REVOLUTION SOCIETY,

&c. &c. &c.

Friends, Fellow-Citizens, and Patriots!

IF an individual preſumes to interrupt for a little, the buſineſs or the feſtivity of the day, it is becauſe the ſubject to which he calls your attention, is intimately connected with the buſineſs in which you are engaged; and the advices he has to offer you, tend to promote the ſucceſs of the principles you aſſociate to ſupport.

The great end of commemorating the Revolution, is to keep alive thoſe *principles* which gave riſe to it, and to diffuſe them amongſt the people, to prepare the way for farther improvements in the government.

Great were the advantages obtained at the Revolution; but they were not *complete*. The Conſtitution of England is ſtill *feudal*, com-

 plicated;

plicated, and inconſiſtent. There are in it not a few *rotten timbers*, and many which appear ſound are ſplit, cracked, and worm-eaten.

To obtain the changes required in a peaceful and regular manner, muſt be the wiſh of every enlightened citizen, and of every good man. Now, this can only be effected by one method:

The Instruction of the People.

YOU muſt teach the great body of the citizens what their rights are, before you can expect them to concur with you in demanding them. And when you have taught them what they ought to claim, they will claim it; they will demand repreſentation, which they do not now poſſeſs; they will refuſe to pay taxes, until they have a voice in impoſing them:—then you will have a *Parliament*, inſtead of an ariſtocratic corporation; that Parliament, elected by *all*, will ſtudy the good of *all*; and every reform that reaſon and utility point out as neceſſary, will be obtained without violence, confuſion, or war.

At preſent, the people neither co-operate with you in your efforts towards reformation, nor are they ſenſible of the neceſſity of it. Indeed, were you now obliged to take any public deciſive ſtep in favour of Freedom, I doubt whether they would not join their oppreſſors, and oppoſe you.

You have often declared, that the people ought to have more weight in the ſcale of government; and you are well founded in making ſuch a declaration. But, before you grant them more power, give them more wiſdom, that they may know how to uſe it. The people in France obtained power ſomewhat too ſuddenly. To accompliſh the revolution, it was neceſſary to make a direct appeal to them, and to place for a time in their hands, powers which they were not qualified to manage. Hence thoſe confuſions, riots, and murders, which the blind illiberality of Mr. Burke charges on the National Aſſembly, who had no concern

in

in them, but to puniſh the perpetrators; and which were ſolely to be aſcribed to that groſs ſtate of ignorance and debaſement, in which the ancient deſpotic ſyſtem had kept the people; and to theſe leſſons of cruelty and horror, to which its infernal principles had accuſtomed their minds.

How are the people to be inſtructed? This is the ſubject I wiſh to offer my opinion upon. Four different works are now before me, intended for this purpoſe.

The firſt is: "LESSONS *to a Young Prince,*" 12mo. 2s. 6d. Princes are not apt ſcholars in general: however, there is no harm in putting truth in their way; if it is not read by them, it will be read by others, to whom it may be uſeful to know what the duties of their princes are.

This is the production of no ordinary writer. The author hath delivered a number of important political truths in a ſtyle of manly eloquence, and pointed out the difference between the regular ſyſtematic conſtitution of France, and the heterogeneous conſtitution of England, in a maſterly and convincing manner.

But he ought not to have carried his impartiality to the extravagant length of abuſing all parties; for this is not *impartiality*, but *affectation*.

When he abuſes men who hold the ſame political opinions as himſelf, when he *attempts* to ſneer at PRICE, and at PRIESTLEY, names that will be ever dear to the friends of Liberty and Reaſon, we diſcern that he writes not from conviction, but from a hope to catch at popularity, and gain favour with that multitude of ignorant bigots, who diſlike theſe illuſtrious men, on account of their intrepid exertions in the cauſe of Liberty and Truth.

And when he throws out ſarcaſms againſt Chriſtianity, he is as impolitic as ill-founded in his arguments—impolitic, becauſe he

diſguſts ſome of Freedom's firmeſt friends, who are alſo the friends of Revelation—and ill-founded, becauſe he traduces the only Religion that ever taught the great principle of the *equality of mankind*. The National Aſſembly of France have been called *levellers*; but Jeſus Chriſt was a much greater leveller than they. They, having taken away the unjuſt privileges poſſeſſed by certain claſſes of great men, thought it right, from conſiſtency, to aboliſh alſo the fantaſtic names invented in dark ages, to denominate the various degrees of this Gothic greatneſs. They annihilated *Marquiſſes*, *Dukes*, and *Counts*; but with him the *firſt* became *laſt*, and the *laſt firſt*; the *poor* and the *weak* were choſen to confound the *great* and the *mighty*; he knew neither *rich* nor *poor*, *Barbarian* nor *Scythian*, *Greek* nor *Jew*, *bond* nor *free*—*all men* were his *brethren*—all *good men* his *friends*.

Laſtly, This author might have omitted the note in one page of his book, when, having obſerved that the Engliſh writers do not truly underſtand the principles of Government, he makes an exception in favour of the Rev. David Williams, of whom he ſpeaks in high terms of encomium. Now, he that thus ſpeaketh, is David Williams himſelf.

Wherefore, to this author, Simon Search hath nothing farther to ſay, but that he abandon affectation and petulance, reſpect religion, and leave other men to praiſe him when he deſerves it. Then his genius will produce its full effect; and then there will be nothing to interrupt the efficacy of his juſt ideas and manly reaſoning.

The ſecond is, "Reflections on the French Revolution," a work pregnant with good ſenſe, and of which I ſhall ſoon give the public an analyſis.

The other two are of a different ſtamp, deſtroying what the former have built up.

Two

Two giants, another Gog and Magog, have riſen up at once to demoliſh the new conſtitution of France, and to unteach the people the greateſt leſſon they were ever taught.

M. de Calonne, the baniſhed miniſter of France, whoſe waſteful proſligacy was ill attoned for by his great talents miſapplied to unworthy purpoſes, has given to the world a volume, *De l'Etat de la France, preſent et a venir*, 8vo. 5s. "Concerning the State of France, preſent and to come."

Edmund Burke, once the friend of Liberty and of Reaſon, *Incredibile dictu!* comes forth, with all his eloquence, to abuſe *reaſon realized*, and to traduce the greateſt and nobleſt revolution ever recorded in the annals of mankind.

Theſe miſtaken writers will both do ſervice to the cauſe of Freedom. They cannot overthrow Truth; ſhe is too powerful for them: But they will excite the attention of mankind to the ſubject, and occaſion it to be examined and diſcuſſed. Now this is all that is wanted; for the new conſtitution of France, being founded in the principles of eternal juſtice and reaſon, will, the more it is attacked, be the more confirmed, and, the better it is underſtood, be the more admired.

But what I wiſh eſpecially to call your attention to is, that ſuch works as theſe, whether juſt or erroneous, are inſufficient for the inſtruction of the people. The people have not money to buy large books, nor time to read them. It is by *little books* that they muſt be enlightened—by books *cheap*, that they may afford to buy them; *ſmall*, that they may have time to peruſe them; and *plain*, that they may be able to underſtand them.

When your great monarch, ALFRED, who had juſter ideas of government than many of us at this day, wiſhed to inſtruct his people, he tranſlated himſelf, and employed others in tranſlating, various little

little books from Latin into the vulgar language, and circulated them amongſt his people. He hath found a worthy imitator in Staniſlaus, the preſent king of Poland; for this excellent prince has tranſlated the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and various pamphlets on morals, and religious toleration, into Poliſh, for the uſe of his people. What *great things* have been done by *little books* in France! Theſe firſt produced that *ſecret univerſal conviction*, which was the prime cauſe of the revolution; and theſe will preſerve that *open univerſal adherence*, which will be an eternal baſis to the new conſtitution, notwithſtanding all the hopes of counter revolutions, formed by the little politicians of Downing-ſtreet.

In vain are a *few* enlightened, if the *many* are left ignorant: in vain is the *metropolis* cultivated, if the *country* is left in darkneſs.

Impreſſed by theſe ideas, *Rabaut de St. Etienne* publiſhes weekly his *Feuille Villageoiſe*, his *Village Gazette*, to inſtruct the people of the plains in their rights and in their duties. Impreſſed by the ſame ideas, I and ſome friends began a periodical publication under the title of the SPIRIT OF THE TIMES, of which we have circulated, in various parts of the kingdom, many Numbers, at our own expence, to diſſeminate right views of things; and we ſhall continue it for ſome time, at leaſt till it forms a volume, which, from the general reflections it contains, we hope may deſerve a place in the libraries of the Friends of Liberty, even when the tranſactions to which it more immediately relates, are paſſed, and no longer attract the curioſity of the public.

In our 1ſt and 2d Nos. we endeavoured to give a candid and faithful account of your proceedings at the *Crown and Anchor*, when you met to commemorate the French Revolution, intermixing ſuch remarks of our own as the circumſtances ſuggeſted. In our 3d No. we tranſlated M. de la Harpe's reflections on the Baſtille, which contain the eſſence of whatever has been ſaid, that is inſtructive or judicious on that ſubject. In our 5th No. we addreſſed the people of England, with a view to aroufe them to a proper ſenſe of their own dignity, and the littleneſs of Kings, adding

adding obſervations on public mournings, and a narrative of the Anglo Gallic Feſtival at Nantz. In our 4th, 6th, and 7th Nos. the laſt of which will be publiſhed to-day or to-morrow, we have given authentic copies of all the public papers neceſſary to enable you to form a judgment of the preſent diſputes with Spain; ſuch as, the *Pope's Bull* to Ferdinand and Iſabella, granting them South America—the *Family Compact* between France and Spain, &c.—*M. Mirabeau's Report of the Diplomatic Committee*, of which no tranſlation has appeared, but a miſerable one in *Debrett's Official Papers*, &c.—Abſtract of Mr. Mears's *Memorial to Mr. Grenville*, and other pieces. Theſe papers are difficult to be procured, and nowhere exiſt in one volume. In theſe Nos. alſo we have laboured to expoſe the little politics of Downing-ſtreet, and to ſhew, that if we now go to war with France, or even Spain, that war is to be aſcribed chiefly to the ungenerous and impolitic conduct our Miniſters have adopted towards France.*

What we have done on a ſmall ſcale, let the excellent *Stanhope*—let the reſpectable Members of the Revolution Society—let the Friends of Liberty every where take up, and purſue with unabating perſeverance. The people want but to know your principles, to approve them. You are their trueſt *friends*, but you are miſrepreſented as their *enemies*.

I will not intrude on you more. Perſevere in the glorious cauſe in which you are engaged, and continue your ſocial meetings, unawed by authority, and regardleſs of inſipid ridicule. Let the minions of eſtabliſhed power endeavour to depreciate your aſſemblies, under the idea of *eating and drinking clubs*. Tell them, that

* Our little publication is ſold by Mr. Gardner, Strand; Mr. Evans, Paternoſter-Row; and Mr. Axtell, Royal-Exchange, at 6d. a number. None of the *ariſtocratic* bookſellers would undertake it, becauſe it was not *dear enough*. At preſent it is twice the price we wiſhed it to be. But we could not find any bookſeller to take charge of it at leſs. To ſuch lengths are things come with us!—Communications addreſſed to any of theſe places, or at the Printer's, Mr. Chapman, Nevil's Court, Fetter-lane, will be thankfully received.

you give the morning to your buſineſs, the evening to your families, and conſecrate the afternoon to ſocial intercourſe, and to the happy union of

"The feaſt of *reaſon*, and the flow of ſoul."

It is not wonderful that feſtive aſſemblies ſhould have derived an odium, from the abuſe made of them by your opponents. For their entertainments have had no other object, but to ſquander other men's money—the revenues of their employers—in oſtentatious parade, and in the purpoſes of mere gluttony and inebriation; while your's, provided at your *own expence*, have been inſtituted to furniſh a decent repaſt to your fellow-citizens, aſſembled for the nobleſt of all ends—the commemoration of Freedom, and of the happineſs of the human race.

Kings hold their councils, and the members of their cabinets conſult only how they can moſt dextrouſly ſupport their own party, and cheat the reſt of mankind. But you form the *council of the human race*—your maxims comprehend the good of *all*. Let Mr. Burke ridicule you as long as he pleaſes. Poor man! if he knew himſelf, he would now be at your Preſident's right hand. He will never ſucceed at St. James's. His imagination is indeed *unbridled*, but his conſcience is *tender*.——

Farewel, friends, fellow-citizens, and patriots! I hope your proceedings to-day will furniſh matter of valuable future reflection to

SIMON SEARCH.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the preceding Addreſs, the following communication from the CLUB of the JACOBINS at PARIS, has appeared in this day's Gazetteer.

UNION between *ENGLAND* and *FRANCE*,

For perpetuating *Peace*, and making the World happy.

LETTER *from the* SOCIETY *of* FRIENDS *of the* REVOLUTION *of* LIMOGES, *to the* CLUB *of* JACOBINS *in* PARIS.

" KINGS and their Miniſters, avowed enemies to our ſublime " Conſtitution, tremble at the approach of the happy pe- " riod which will finiſh the immortal work of the firſt Legiſla- " ture. They feel with reaſon, and ſee with grief, that this im- " mortal Conſtitution will become the code of all nations; that " a lawful power will majeſtically raiſe itſelf upon the ruins of deſ- " potiſm overthrown. We are convinced, that the true means of " haſtening this univerſal regeneration, this great bleſſing to man- " kind, is to give to the world the ſpectacle of *a fraternal union* " *between two great people, long rendered eſtimable to each other by* " *knowledge and philoſophy, but unfortunately hitherto divided by the* " *arts of Courts, the phrenzy of ambition, and the corruption of a miſ-* " *taken intereſt.*" This confederation once conſolidated, univerſal peace will be the conſequence; and whatever may be the ambition of Kings, and the perverſeneſs of Miniſters, the happineſs and liberty of Nations will be for ever ſecured. We propoſe then to you; firſt, to ſend, at the expence of all the Patriotic Societies of France, a deputation to the Society of Friends of the Revolution eſtabliſhed in London, to profeſs a laſting friendſhip, and to concert with it the means of uniting the two people; ſecondly, to publiſh in the ſame name, a Manifeſto addreſſed to all the people of the world, to declare to them the friendly wiſhes and pacific intentions of the Friends of the new French Conſtitution.

We write by this courier to *all the Societies eſtabliſhed in the Eighty-three Departments*, to invite their adherence to this project.

We are, with ſentiments of the moſt tender fraternity,

Gentlemen, your moſt humble, &c.

The Members compoſing the Society of Friends of the Conſtitution, eſtabliſhed at Limoges.

(Signed) BOUTET, Preſident.

MARTIN, *Membre du Comité de Correſpondance.*

Limoges, Oct. 12, 1790,
et de la Liberté l'an ſecond.